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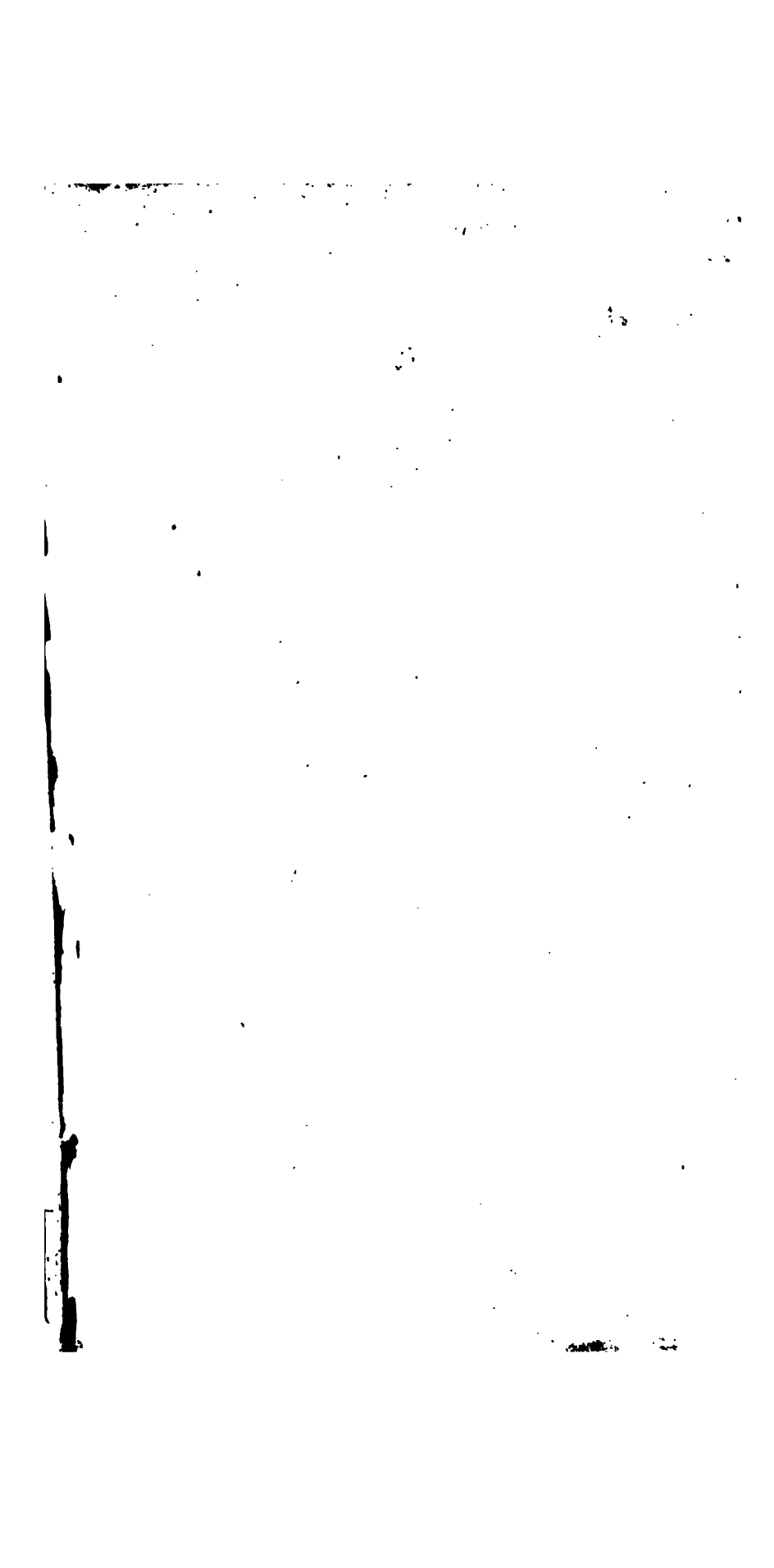
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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,

FROM
THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS
TO
THE PRESENT TIME,

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq.

VOLUME THE NINTH.

L O N D O N,

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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND.

JAMES THE SIXTH.

THOUGH James mounted the English throne without opposition, and though he was immediately proclaimed king, yet he had still many difficulties to surmount. The French court had been long tampering with Elizabeth to set aside his succession; and such of the English nobility, or their families, as had distinguished themselves against Mary, dreaded his resentment. James behaved with decency, and even reserve, when Cary announced to him the death of Elizabeth. He appeared little abroad, till the state messengers, who were Sir Charles Percy, brother to

A. D. 1603.
Accession
of James to
the English
throne.

B 2

the

A. D. 1603. the earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Somerset, son to the earl of Worcester, arrived in Scotland, with the authentic news of his being proclaimed king of England, and the unanimity of that people in favour of his title. The earl of Essex had generally been looked upon as a martyr in his cause, and secretary Cecil had been the capital enemy of Essex. The French ambassador had made several efforts to debauch that statesman from the interest of James, but all was to no purpose; and James knew his true interests too well, not to reward Cecil's fidelity. He was several times in danger of having his correspondence discovered to Elizabeth; and some days before her death, he wrote James a letter, in which he told him, "that he should be ever ready to serve him; and that the only reason why he had not declared himself more openly, as others (meaning the earl of Essex and his party) had done, was, because he could not be serviceable to his majesty, and might disable himself by such a preposterous conduct." To this letter, James returned the following remarkable answer. "I do heartily thank you (said he) for your plain and honest offer; so may you assure yourself, that it would do me no pleasure, that you should hazard either your fortune or reputation; since the loss of either of these would make you the less valuable to me. No, I love not to feed upon such fantastical

Correspondence
of James
with Cecil.

fantastical humours, although I cannot let A. D. 1603. busy-bodies to live upon their own imaginations. But, for my part, I hold it, the office of a king, as sitting on the throne of God, to imitate the primum mobile, and by his steady and constant course to govern all the other changeable and uncertain motions of the inferior planets. And I protest, in God's presence, that for your constant and honest behaviour in your sovereign's service, I loved your virtues long before I could be certain that you would deserve, at my hand, the love of your person: wherefore go on, and serve her that truly reigneth, as you have done; for he that is false to the present, will never be true to the future."

Before James left Scotland, he gratified his darling passion for declamation in a long speech which he made in the high church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, assuring his subjects of his unalterable affection for their persons, and attention to their interests. There is no denying that, at that time, he was very popular in Scotland. His subjects considered him as the peculiar care of Providence, and his life as a continued chain of miraculous preservations. They answered his harangue by sighs and tears, at the thoughts of losing their king; but they were comforted by the repeated promises which James made them, to pay frequent visits to his native country. On the fifth of April he left
Scotland,

James sits
the go-
vernment of
Scotland.

A.D. 1603. Scotland, having in his retinue a French ambassador. It is by no means below the dignity of history to take notice, that the vile adulation paid in the way of anticipation to James by the English, drew from a sagacious Scotchman the observation, "that they would spoil a good king;" and the event justified the prediction. James had secret intelligence that the sooner he arrived at London, it would be the more for his interest. He settled the government of Scotland with great precision. He ordered the queen to follow him about twenty days after his departure for England. He appointed the prince-royal to remain at Stirling. He gave the custody of the duke of Albany to the lord Fyvie, president of the session, and that of the princess Elizabeth to the earl of Linlithgow. I mention those particulars in order to illustrate the character I have already given of his queen, who was a woman of such unbounded intrigue, that Henry the fourth, and the other princes on the continent, expected every day that James would fall a victim to her practices. He was no stranger to her character; and upon his departure for England, she demanded from the house of Mar the person of her son, the prince-royal. This request being contrary to the express order of James, she received a flat denial, which threw her into a dangerous fit of illness.

I shall

OF SCOTLAND.

7

I shall omit the particulars of the royal progress till his majesty reached London, because they are either trifling, or belong to the English history. It was observed, as an unfavourable omen to his future reign, that during his journey, he ordered a thief, who had been taken in the fact of stealing, to be hanged without any form of trial. This was indeed an unwarrantable proceeding; but the same had been often done, without any historical reprehension, by preceding monarchs of England; and James, no doubt, was thrown off his guard by usages of Scotland in the like cases. Beaton archbishop of Glasgow being now dead, the king sent Spotswood the historian, whom he appointed to be his successor, to attend the queen to England, and, at the same time, to reconcile her to the earl of Mar, to whose wise management he said he owed his peaceful accession to the English throne. Being a woman equally haughty as mean, her first reply was, "that rather than be beholden to Mar, she could wish never to have seen England." Upon her arrival at Windsor, however, Mar was acquitted of every act of disrespect to her majesty, and she was glad to admit him into her favour. The coarse manners of James, so opposite to those of Elizabeth, was a disservice to him in the eyes of his more refined English subjects. His familiarity was fulsome, and the state he assumed was unamiable. By habit.

A. D. 1603.
He sets out
for England.

A. D. 1603.

habit he was close and secret; but when he thought he could safely trust, he was too open and unreserved, which made him a prey to designing courtiers. He was at this time in the thirty-sixth year of his age; and it was his misfortune to have read just as much history as taught him that the kings of England had often behaved in an arbitrary manner, which made him conclude that prerogative and despotism was the same; a fatal mistake, which was transmitted to his descendants. His artful queen gratified him in all his passions, especially in his love of indolence with all the appearance of business. By this management, she actually gained an ascendancy over his mind; and the genius she had in inventing masques and court diversions, made her at last necessary to his enjoyments. He was a lover of pleasure without politeness, and of expence without either delicacy or magnificence.

State of
parties
there.

The preferments which James bestowed upon Englishmen on his accession to the throne of England, were well-judged. Many, especially the Howard family, had suffered for their attachment to his mother. Some of the worthiest noblemen in England, at the time of Elizabeth's death, were under a cloud for their connections with Essex; and some had been highly serviceable to James in the late reign. He was not so fortunate in his predilections for his native subjects. Before he could be said

to

to be settled on the English throne, he made the duke of Lenox, the earl of Mar, and the lord Hume, Sir George Hume, treasurer of Scotland, secretary Elphinston, and Bruce abbot of Kinlofs, privy-counsellors of England, the latter at the same time being made master of the rolls. A. D. 1603.

The peculiar turn of Elizabeth's mind, between the execution of the earl of Essex and her own death, had given that nobleman's enemies, at the head of whom was Sir Walter Raleigh, great advantages; but, at the same time, they had incurred unpopularity on account of the monopolies they engrossed. Some of them, conscious of the parts they had acted, talked of binding James down to conditions. Sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state, who was very justly termed the first of the bad, and the last of the good English ministers, saw the foibles of James, and discouraged the motion, which might have abridged his own power. James heard of the affair, and conceived an early prejudice against Raleigh, the lord Cobham, Sir John Fortescue, and others of their party. All appearances, however, in the dawn of his English reign were festive, and grievances were drowned in applause and acclamation. It was not long before the undiscerning prodigality of James, especially as to honours, changed the scene. His Scotch subjects looked upon England as created for

Insolence of
the Scots at
court.

A. D. 1603. them, and upon James as bound to be the instrument of their greatness. The English could not behold with indifference the prodigious swarms of them that arrived at court; and the insolence of the new comers added to the disgust. James affected great reserve with regard to the continental system. Being the son of a lady who died for the Roman catholic religion, most of the powers of Europe were anxious to know the part he would act; but none was so much interested as Henry the fourth of France.

Negotiations with France and Spain.

The marquis of Rosny was again sent as his ambassador to England, where he had a very difficult game to play. The famous Barnevelt was then one of the deputies of the states in England; and the count D'Aremberg, ambassador from the archduke, had proposed a league between England and Spain; a motion that was far from being discouraged by James. Rosny, on the other hand, endeavoured to alarm him with the growing greatness of the house of Austria; and was instructed by his master to put James at the head of a league for reducing it. He was seconded by Barnevelt, who found James very cold as to the interests of his masters, the states-general; but still without taking any decisive measure. James, by this indecision, became the arbiter of Europe; and Rosny, who was himself a protestant, with his master's approbation, proposed that

that James should be the protector of the French Hugonots ; a measure I can scarcely reconcile to Henry's character, as an independent sovereign. James heard all parties with equal complaisance ; but seemed to discourage Cecil in the opposition he gave to Rosny's proposals. This encouraged Raleigh to present memorials against Cecil, whom he charged with the blood of Essex. This contention ended in the condemnation and ruin of Raleigh and his associates, which are foreign to this history, as are the pedantic theological disputations against the puritans, in which James presided, especially at Hampton Court.

The great measure which James had now at heart, was to bring about an union between Scotland and England, which he fondly imagined he could easily effect, by the joint force of his prerogative and eloquence. His first speech to his English parliament contained many passages that were worthy of a patriot king, and others that were equivocal ; for he acknowledged Rome to be the mother-church, though defiled with some deformities and corruptions. It was not long before the leaders of the house of commons discovered the true character of James, and demanded redress of grievances in a far bolder manner than they had ever ventured on in the late reign. James was so fond of the project of the union, that he winked at all that passed, and proceeded as far as

1604.
James endeavours to conclude an union.

A. D. 1604. he could by proclamations. He had assumed the title of king of Great Britain; and his prerogative met with a powerful advocate in the house of commons, in the person of the famous Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards lord Verulam, and chancellor of England. The earl of Dumfermling, formerly lord Fyvie, was ordered to attend the commissioners who were named to treat of the union; and James endeavoured to abolish all invidious distinctions between the two nations. The commons did not directly oppose the project of an union; and perhaps they would have agreed to it, notwithstanding the prepossessions of the English against it, could they have prevailed upon James to consent to the abolition of wardships, and other oppressive feudal tenures, in lieu of which they offered him a far greater revenue than ever had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. I shall not trouble the reader with the many heats and debates in the English parliament upon this subject. It is sufficient to say, that it was so warmly opposed, that the chancellor of Scotland finding his presence useless, returned to that country.

He abolishes
the distinctions
between the
two nations.

Among the other measures for coalescing the two kingdoms, James ordered all distinctions upon the borders to be demolished, and the iron gates of Berwick to be removed. He sent a mandate to the citizens of Edinburgh, containing the names of the magistrates they
were

were to chuse; and he expressly inhibited A. D. 1604. all the meetings of the Scotch clergy without his warrant. The Scotch parliament was ordered to meet on the third of July at Perth, but was obliged to rise on account of the plague. The M'Gregors renewed their insurrections; but the head of their clan was made prisoner by the earl of Argyle, on condition of his being conveyed safely out of Scotland. The earl evaded the terms, by carrying him to the south of Berwick, and back to Edinburgh, where he was hanged, as were many of his followers.

The parliament of England rose with visible marks of discontent at the backwardness of James to gratify any of their demands, and the inclination he shewed to conclude a treaty with Spain. This was a very unpopular measure in England; but it was completed by the perseverance of Cecil, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from Raleigh, who was now a prisoner under sentence of death, for having favoured the Spaniards. This peace with Spain was of great benefit to commerce; and the court of England had never appeared with so great lustre as it did this year. The duke of Lenox was sent ambassador extraordinary to France, as the lord-admiral of England was to Spain. The retinue and the equipages of the latter were extremely splendid, and particular descriptions of them were

A. D. 1604. were given by authority. Every crowned head in Europe had an embassador in England, where nothing was talked of but the cultivation of the arts of peace, which were assisted by those of commerce.

Proceedings of the commissioners for the union.

James thought that the juncture was favourable for resuming his darling project of an union. Two commissions were made out, one for England, and another for Scotland. The English commissioners were forty-four, with the lord-chancellor Ellesmere at their head, and consisting of the chief officers of state, the nobility, prelates, and commons of England. Their commission "gave them, or any eight, or more, of the said lords of the higher house, and twenty of the said knights and burgessees of the said house of commons, full power, liberty, and commission, to assemble and meet at any time or times before the next session of parliament, for treating and consulting with certain selected commissioners, to be nominated and authorized by authority of the parliament of the realm of Scotland, of and concerning such an union of the said realms of England and Scotland, and of and concerning such other matters, causes, and things whatsoever, as upon mature deliberation and consideration, the greatest part of the said lords, knights, citizens, and burgessees, being assembled with the commissioners to be nominated by the parliament of Scotland, shall, in their wisdom, think

think and deem convenient and necessary for A. D. 1604 the honour of his majesty, and the weal and common good of both the said realms, during his majesty's life, and under all his majesty's progeny and royal posterity for ever; which commissioners of both the said realms shall, according to the tenor of their said commissions, reduce their doings and proceedings into writings, or instruments tripartite, every part to be subscribed and sealed by them; to the end that one part thereof may, in all humility, be presented to his most excellent majesty, the second part to be offered to the consideration of the next session of parliament for the realm of England, and the third to be offered to the consideration of the next parliament for the realm of Scotland; that thereupon such farther proceedings may be had, as by both the said parliaments may be thought fit and necessary for the weal and common good of both the said realms."

To gratify the laudable curiosity which some of my readers may have to know the names of the leading nobility and gentry of Scotland at this time, I shall here insert those of the Scotch commissioners. "John earl of Montrose, chancellor of Scotland; Francis earl of Errol, high constable of Scotland; James earl of Glencairn; Alexander earl of Linlithgow; John archbishop of Glasgow; David bishop of Ross; George bishop of Caithness; Walter prior

A.D. 1604. prior of Blantire; Patrick lord Glamis; Alexander lord Elphinston; Alexander lord Fyvie, president of the session of Scotland; Robert lord Roxburgh; James lord Abercorn; James lord Balmerino, principal secretary of Scotland; David lord of Scone; Sir James Scrimgeour of Dudop, knight; Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston, knight; Sir John Hume of Coldinknowes, knight; Sir David Carnegie of Kinnard, knight; Sir Robert Melvil elder, of Murdocarnie, knight; Sir Thomas Hamilton of Binnie, knight; Sir John Lermouth of Balcony, knight; Sir Alexander Stratton of Lawriston, knight; Sir John Shecon of Curry Hill, knight; Mr. John Sharp of Houston, lawyer; Mr. Thomas Craig, lawyer; Henry Nisbet; George Bruce; Alexander Rutherford, and Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, merchants.

“ They were impowered, or any twelve of them, to assemble and convene themselves, after the ending of the present session of parliament, and before the next session thereof, at such time, and in such place, as it should please his majesty to appoint, with certain select commissioners nominated and authorised by the parliament of England, according to the tenor of their commissions in that behalf, to confer, treat, and consult upon a perfect union of the realms of Scotland and England, and concerning such other matters, things, and causes whatsoever, tending to his majesty's honour
and

and contentment, and to the weal and tranquillity of both kingdoms, during his majesty's life, and his royal posterity for ever, as upon mature deliberation, the greater part of the said commissioners, assembled as is afore-said, with the commissioners authorized by the parliament of England, shall, in their wisdom, think most expedient and necessary, not derogating from any fundamental laws, antient privileges and rights, offices, dignities, and liberties of the kingdom."

A. D. 1604.

Those commissioners, after several meetings at London, agreed upon certain articles, to be laid before parliament, of which three copies were made out. One was to remain with the commissioners; another was to be delivered to James; and a third was to be sealed up for the use of the parliament. The conferences were managed with unexampled secrecy; for none of the commissioners were suffered to take a copy of the articles. Though they had been published by archbishop Spotswood, yet the most satisfactory account of them is to be found in a letter from Sir Henry Nevil, who was himself one of the commissioners, and was thought to have as good a head as any man then in England, to Sir Ralph Winwood.

Dated Dec.
8.

It was agreed, "that all hostile laws made between either kingdom shall be abolished. That the border-laws and customs shall be likewise abolished, and justice ministered here-

Account of
their conferences.

A. D. 1604.

after according to the ordinary laws of each kingdom. That there be free intercourse of trade between the kingdoms, without paying any customs for all commodities, (except sheep, wool, wool-fell, cattle, hides, and leather, which are wholly prohibited) so as there be sufficient caution given, not to transport any of the said commodities, into any foreign parts, out of the kingdom. That it shall be lawful for the subjects of the one kingdom to bring into the other any foreign commodities, paying the custom used in that kingdom where they arrive. But because it appears, that the Scottish men have a privilege in France, whereby they are exempted from paying of the custom that the English and other foreigners pay upon transportation, it is therefore agreed, that whatsoever they pay less than we there, they shall pay so much more than we here for French commodities, except such as are brought out of the river Bourdeaux, where it appears, that our privileges are as great as theirs. That it shall be lawful for the subjects of either kingdom to carry out of the other the natural commodities thereof, paying the ordinary customs; but so as the Scottish men trade not with any of our commodities to any place where our companies are established, in any other sort than the common subject of England may do, who hath no privilege. That it shall be lawful for either nation to freight the ships of
the

A. D. 1604.

the other. That either nation shall be enabled to be free of any company or corporation of the other, serving for it, or attaining it by purchase, in such sort as those of the same nation do, where the company or corporation is. That it shall be declared by parliament, that the law already is, (for so the judges have declared it) that all the subjects of either kingdom born since queen Elizabeth's death are naturalized in the other, to all intents and purposes; and for those born before, it is agreed, that they shall be naturalized to all purposes; and enabled to all capacities, each in the other, except to have voice and seance in parliament, and to bear any office of the crown or judicature; which three points we have thought good to reserve till the union be made perfect in other things, which could not be done at this time. The last article begat more debate and contestation than all the rest, as that which touched the freehold of the principal of both sides, and imported them most in their particular; the one side to seek, the other to exclude. But in the end, the king was won to our side, and so it was concluded in this form."

Notwithstanding this management, the English were never scrupulous in the transaction, and caballed together to oppose it in parliament. As to James, he appeared so perfectly satisfied with what the commissioners had done, that he made them one of his best speeches of

The prodigality of James ruinous to Scotland.

A.D. 1605: thanks. He had, during the two years he filled the throne of England, contracted three hundred and fifty thousand pounds of debt, though all that was left by Elizabeth, during a glorious reign of forty years, amounted to no more than four hundred thousand. It is to the honour of James, that his profusion may be said to have contributed to the grandeur of England, because it obliged him to take measures for the extension and improvement of commerce, by which he soon doubled his revenue arising by customs. This, however, was far from being the case in Scotland. We know of no company formed there, as in England, for the advancement of commerce; and it is certain, that the accession of James to the English crown brought Scotland to the verge of ruin. Even his profusion to his Scotch favourites operated to the destruction of their country. It taught them luxurious modes of living; and their vast emoluments naturally attached them to England. The other nobility, ministers of state, instead of spending their rents in Scotland, carried them to England, where they resided in hopes of preferment. Their high aristocratical spirit was now converted into court dependency; and the little that remained of it appeared only in acts of riot and rebellion.

Proceedings
of James
against the
clergy
there.

The earl of Montrose, upon resigning the office of chancellor, was appointed to a place unknown

unknown before, that of commissioner and deputy of Scotland during life. The earl of Dumfermling and secretary Elphinston had the management of all Scotch affairs; but James particularly enjoined them to favour the episcopal order. This partiality once more alarmed the presbyterian clergy; and being no longer overawed by the presence of James, they held meetings and assemblies, where means were concerted for repealing all the late acts in favour of episcopacy. Their meetings were interrupted by Straiton of Lawrington; and the clergy found, by experience, that they were no longer the dictators of the state. Only nine of the fifty-two presbyteries disobeyed the royal mandate, for which the members were denounced rebels. James declared that he intended to have a conference in his own presence between the bishops and the heads of the presbyterian party in Scotland, that he might, by his royal wisdom, settle all their differences; but in the mean while, Forbes and Welch, two of the most forward of the preachers, were committed prisoners to the castle of Blackness. This severity did not deter the brethren; and no less than eight of them were committed to different prisons. They had given out that James intended entirely to abolish the government and discipline of the church of Scotland, and to bring it to a conformity with that of England, even as to the rites and modes

A. D. 1605. modes of worship. James contradicted those rumours in a pompous declaration which he published from Hampton Court, and the imprisoned ministers were called upon to answer for their conduct at the council-board. Being there demanded what they had to say for their proceedings, they declined the jurisdiction of the court; upon which the council declared the fourteen preachers, who signed the declaration, to be amenable to a prosecution for treason, which James accordingly awarded against six of the number; and after a solemn trial, they were found guilty [of holding an unlawful assembly without leave from the king, in the town of Aberdeen, which inferred the pains of death. This decision was followed by a severe proclamation, rendering it penal for any subject whatever to call in question the justice of the sentence. The parties who were condemned, alledged, that they had the chancellor's authority for holding the assembly, or (as it is called in the record) the conventicle, By order of James, the ministers were confronted with the chancellor. They made good their charge so far, as to prove the chancellor to be an inveterate enemy to the order of bishops; and when the report was made to James, he very justly observed, "That none of the two deserved credit; and that he saw the ministers would betray religion, rather than submit themselves to government; and that

that the chancellor would betray the king for the malice he carried to the bishops." A.D. 1604.

It is doing no more than justice to the memory of James, when I say he seldom made a wrong use of his prerogative, but in cases when his arbitrary exercise of it was disputed. A convention of the Scotch estates was held the sixth of June at Edinburgh; and a letter from James was presented to the members. Its contents were worthy of the father of a people. It assured them of his increasing affection to his native country. He enjoined unanimity, and a submission to the laws of his nobility and barons. It recommended fisheries and manufactures, especially that of cloth, to the burghs and trading subjects of his dominions; and exhorted them to resume the project of civilizing the Highlands; "assuring them all, that, they for behaving themselves, their liberty should be as dear to him as either his life or estate." This letter being read, and its contents enforced by the chancellor, the members came to several vigorous resolutions for the due execution of his majesty's will. The abolition of the barbarous feuds, or family animosities; which contributed to the ruin and reproach of Scotland; came under their deliberation; and James represented how disgraceful it was to make up their mutual breaches of peace, by each party giving the other security against the commi-

Wife conduct of James.

A. D. 1605. fion of any future violence. Upon this, it was ordered by an act of council, that all securities for the peace should be according to law, and not by the assurance of one party to another.

According to the Manuscript Annals of Sir James Balfour, it was about this time that James instituted a court of commissioners, before which his nobility were to produce their evidences, patents of creation, and claims of precedency, that the same might be settled. James likewise ordered, (says my author) "That each nobleman within the kingdom of Scotland, against the first parliament, be provided with robes of scarlet, doubled with white taffata, and barred with ermins, with hood thereto belonging, ready to attend his majesty and his commissioner. These were the first parliament robes that ever were used in this kingdom." Mention is made by the same author this year of a notable impostor, one Douglas, a Scotchman, who was sent over prisoner to England in chains. His crime was his having counterfeited the king's signet, with which he sealed six letters to six princes of Germany, recommending himself separately to the service of each. In consequence of the king's recommendation to the parliament, another attempt was made to settle the isles of Lewis; but it ended in the ruin of the adventurers, who were destitute of money, and otherwise un-
able

Balfour's
MSS.
Parliament
robes first
introduced
into Scot-
land.

able to subdue the spirit of the old inhabitants. A.D. 1605.

Though the memorable Gunpowder Plot, which broke out this year, was confined to England, yet some mention of it belongs to the history of Scotland, especially as it was originally occasioned by the late queen of Scotland's conveyance of the crown of England to his Catholic majesty. James, of late, had given way to a severe prosecution of popish priests; and many of them had taken refuge in the Low Countries, where, by orders of the court of Spain, they were sheltered, and supplied with money by the archduke. The famous Garnet was sent over to England (which was his native country) as superior of the jesuits there, and had large remittances from Spain, for advancing that king's title to the crown of England. Garnet, though impenetrable and secret, was a bloody enthusiast for popery; and he with the other popish emissaries had, more than once, in their consultations, even at the close of Elizabeth's reign, mentioned the blowing her and her parliament up with gunpowder. Perceiving that they could not set aside the succession of James, Garnet burnt the pope's bulls, which had been sent to him for that purpose; and advised his friends and disciples to apply to the constable of Castile, who was the first plenipotentiary from Spain to England, during the late treaty for peace, for

History of
the Gun-
powder
Treason.

A.D. 1605. some mitigation of the rigours the Roman catholic party suffered. The constable gave them general assurances; but did nothing in their favour, for fear of hazarding the success of his negotiation. This drove the party into very desperate consultations. Its heads, besides Garnet and the jesuits, were two gentlemen of the name of Winter, Robert and Thomas; Thomas Piercy, a near relation to the earl of Northumberland; Guido Faukes; John Grant, Esq; Ambrose Rookwood, Esq; Francis Tresham, Esq; with Robert Key, and Thomas Bates, gentlemen. Most of those conspirators were men of birth and fortune; and Catesby, particularly, had expended two thousand pounds of his private property in the several voyages, journies, and consultations, they held. They, at last, had the address to draw into their society Sir Everard Digby, an amiable young gentleman in other respects, and of a considerable fortune, but unhappily an enthusiast. Their consultations are foreign to this history: it is sufficient to say, that they raised a fund proportioned to their estates, and that they pitched upon Faukes, a bold enterprising soldier of fortune, to be their chief agent; but did not, in the mean time, omit their endeavours to secure an invasion from Flanders, in favour of their infernal purpose. The reader, perhaps, need not be informed that this was to lodge a large quantity of powder

der in a vault below the house of parliament, which was to be blown up by Faukes, while the king was opening the session with a speech. The manner in which it was discovered, was by an anonymous letter to lord Monteagle, who was a papist; warning him to absent himself from parliament that day. The lord Monteagle laid the letter before the earl of Salisbury, secretary of state; but it was no other than a corroborative evidence of the intended treason; for it is certain that the marquis of Rosny had imparted to his master, Henry the fourth, his suspicion that such a plot was in agitation, from the discoveries he had made in Flanders; and Henry had put James upon his guard accordingly. James was then at Royston following his diversions; and when the letter was shewn him, so great was his fondness to be thought a profound politician, that he immediately pronounced the blow which was threatened to come from gunpowder. Cecil indulged his vanity; and till Winwood's papers were published, the discovery was generally attributed to his sagacity. The conspirators had then every thing prepared for the blow. The powder was covered with faggots, which were pretended to have been brought thither for Piercy's winter-fuel, he having hired the vault as being contiguous to an office which he held under the crown. It is amazing, that though both Catesby and Piercy

A. D. 1605. knew of the informations which James had received from abroad, and even of Monteagle's letter, they still pursued their purpose. James and his minister delayed the discovery to the very night before the parliament was to meet, when they employed a resolute justice of the peace, one Sir Thomas Knevet, who seized Fankes in the vault, and secured the powder, with all the dispositions of the mine, Piercy and Catesby narrowly escaping being likewise seized.

It is not at all surprizing that Roman catholic writers have questioned the reality of this plot, not more for its wickedness than the improbabilities and absurdities of its contrivance. It is by admitting the strong operations of enthusiasm alone, that we can conceive how men otherwise of no mean understanding, could be so infatuated as not to secure themselves from danger, after they were discovered; which they might easily have done, through the over-acted policy of James and his minister, in delaying the discovery so long as they did. The heads of the conspirators were at Sir Everard Digby's house at Dunchurch in Warwickshire, when they heard that their plot was detected. Instead of providing for their own security, they flattered themselves into the hopes of their party being powerful enough to raise a rebellion in the kingdom, which they accordingly attempted; but they could not bring together

above

A. D. 1605.

above eighty horse. It belongs more properly to the English than the Scotch history to recount the particulars of their being pursued from place to place, the desperate resistance they made, their trials, confessions, and executions. It is sufficient to say, that many of them gloried in their undertaking, even while they were at the gibbet; and the proofs against them were such, as does not admit the smallest suspicion as to the reality of the conspiracy. It is remarkable that Sir Everard Digby alone pleaded guilty, and begged the intercession of the judges in favour of his wife and family, and that his sentence should be changed into beheading; which last favour was not granted, for he was executed as a traitor. It has been observed, that though this otherwise excellent young man had at first some scruples with regard to the conspiracy, yet they were conquered by the jesuits; and he himself was so much poisoned by their doctrines, that penitent and resigned as he seemed to be in his last hours, he thought the cause for which he died was meritorious, as appears from papers written with his own hand, while under condemnation, and addressed to his son Sir Kenelm, and discovered many years after his death. As to the other conspirators, the only concern they expressed at the gibbet was, that their plot had not taken effect.

James

A. D. 1605

Temporality of the
bishops re-
annexed to
their sees.

James sent an early account of the detection of this execrable conspiracy to his council in Scotland, and a day was set apart for public thanksgiving. Either a secret affection for popery, or the improbabilities attending the discovery, raised suspicions in some of the counsellors as to its reality. The chancellor himself seemed to question it; but James did not think proper to remove him from his high post, because he now knew how to make him subservient to the great measure he had in view, that of investing the bishops in their temporalities, which the chancellor had always opposed. James, however, gave his authority a deep wound, by separating the place of first minister from that of chancellor; for he gave to the earl of Dunbar the management of all public affairs in Scotland. The citizens of Edinburgh, who suffered severely by the king's residence in England, considered the appointment of a commissioner as a presumption that James never would return; and arming themselves, they formed a kind of guard to the chancellor, who complained of the great indignities that had been done to his authority, and seemed apprehensive that more were intended for his person. Dunbar, without shewing any resentment, produced a warrant for adjourning the parliament, which was to have met at Edinburgh in June, to Perth. This proceeding struck the citizens of Edinburgh with

with dismay; and Dunbar, in every respect, shewed himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him by his master. A. D. 1605.

The parliament met at Perth on the first of July; and the earl of Montrose presided there as the king's commissioner. Upon its first sitting down, several squabbles happened between the earls of Eglington and Glencairn, and the lords Seton and others, which ended in some bloodshed; but by the prudent management of the earl of Dunbar, all the parties submitted their differences to arbitration; and if that did not succeed, to his majesty's decision. A greater storm threatened the public tranquillity, from the discontent of the clergy, who now knew that the main business of the parliament was the re-annexation of the episcopal temporalities to their sees. Many of the most zealous ministers repaired to Perth, where they endeavoured to raise some disturbance. Dunbar knew of their practices; and reminded them that the lives of some of their order were then at the king's mercy, and that they ought to be satisfied with the assurances his majesty had given them, that he would call some of the most learned of their committee to London, where they should be heard, and means should be taken for an amicable accommodation. He put them in mind that they themselves had strongly solicited the re-annexation to be revoked, and that they ought not now to oppose

1606.
Opposed by
the clergy.

A.D. 1606. pose it, as no alteration was intended in the discipline of the church. The ministers finding that all their opposition was in vain, and might bring them under the severest penalties of the law, and thinking, perhaps, that they themselves might have their turns in the episcopal dignity, were obliged to acquiesce, and the business of the session went on without interruption. An act passed for the restitution of the estate of bishops, by which was meant no more than that their temporalities should be separated from the crown, and re-annexed to their sees. Archbishop Spotswood insinuates, that the principal argument for this act was the poverty of the bishops, which disabled them from attending the court of parliament in a manner suitable to their dignity. Another act was made for establishing the king's prerogative. By this act, an oath was to be tendered to the subjects in the following terms. "I. N. for testification of my faithful obedience to my most gracious and redoubted James king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, affirm by this my solemn oath, testify and declare, that I acknowledge my said sovereign only supreme governor in this kingdom; over all persons, and in all causes; and that no foreign prince, power, state, or person, either civil or ecclesiastical, hath any jurisdiction, power, or superiority over the same. And therefore I do utterly

terly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, and authorities ; and shall at my utter power defend, assist, and maintain his majesty's jurisdiction foresaid, against all deadly, and never decline his majesty's power or jurisdiction, by this my oath upon the holy evangelists. So help me God."

A. D. 1605.

I am obliged for the copy of this oath to Mr. Calderwood, as it is omitted by bishop Spotswood. The same reverend author informs us, that in this parliament was granted a taxation of four hundred thousand marks; that the new bishops were the most forward in voting it; and Sir James Balfour says, that it was double to any taxation ever given to any king of Scotland to that time. Dunbar was then his majesty's commissioner for the borders, (the distinction of wardens being now laid aside) where the distractions must have been very great; for according to Balfour, " he hanged above a hundred and forty of the nimblest and most powerful thieves, and fully reduced the other inhabitants there to the obedience of his majesty's laws." The printed histories of Scotland take no notice of a most dreadful pestilence that broke out there this year, which, according to the chancellor's letter to the king, infected all the corners of the kingdom to such a degree, that there was a suspension of all public business, except that

MSS.

Dated Oct.
30.Balfour's
MSS.

A. D. 1606. of a few privy-counsellors occasionally, for the dispatch of business.

Behaviour
of the
Scotch pres-
byterian
clergy in
England.

The presbyterian ministers, who had been ordered to attend James and his prelates of both kingdoms, were now arrived at London. They met with a very civil reception; and James employed the ablest of the English divines to preach up in their presence the preference of the episcopal to the presbyterian order. Their arguments are foreign to this history; nor could it be expected that they could have any great effect upon their eight antagonists, at the head of whom were the two Melvils. James, as usual, exerted all his eloquence, to render them sensible of their prejudices; but all was to no purpose: for Andrew Melvil, in the name of his brethren, justified the most obnoxious of their actions, even the treasonable convention at Aberdeen. By Calderwood's account of the conferences, the behaviour of the ministers was far from being polite towards the Scotch courtiers; and when the meeting broke up, James sent an order to the Melvils and their associates, that they should not come near the king's, queen's, nor prince's court, without special licence; and that they should not return to Scotland without leave; but the Scotch prelates and episcopal clergy were permitted to return. This was a weak piece of revenge in James, because,

though

though he himself had invited them to a free conference, he punished them for speaking with freedom. In short, this debate, like all others of the same kind, left matters in a worse state than before. A. D. 1606.

The six ministers under sentence of death remained still in prison, with all the firmness of primitive confessors. They were so far from retracting any part of their conduct, that they conjured their eight brethren, who were sent for to court, not to give up the smallest article of their doctrine or discipline. Their obstinacy nettled James; but not chusing to put them to death, he ordered his judges to banish them from Scotland during their lives, not to return under pain of death. Other ministers, who had been their principal abettors, were condemned to places of separate exile, so far as I can understand, entirely by the force of prerogative. We are in this part of our history to read archbishop Spotswood's accounts with great caution. As he was a party deeply concerned, it cannot be expected that his representations are very favourable. He has therefore qualified, or rather concealed, the impotent and scandalous despotism of James and his Scotch counsellors on this occasion; and I shall therefore, without any scruple, follow Calderwood, whose account is sensible, and bears the most convincing evidences of impartiality.

A. D. 1606.

Injustice
done them.

After the Scotch clergymen had received their prohibition, they were tampered with in a mean unfair manner, to subscribe papers, declaring their sense of church government, what the king might do in matters ecclesiastical, and whether or not he had wholly the power to convene and discharge assemblies of the church. They desired time to consider of those questions, and were summoned to appear before the Scotch council (or rather board) next day. When they came to court, they were ordered to attend the English service in the king's chapel, which they did, and were greatly scandalized at the decorations and the form of worship. Mr. James Melvil was first called upon; and the earl of Dunbar demanded, first, Whether he prayed for the imprisoned brethren? Secondly, Whether he allowed the holding of the assembly at Aberdeen, and the declinature given into the council by them who held it? Thirdly, Where was his letter written to the synod of Rife? No words but his own can do justice to the noble answer returned by the preacher: "I am (said he) a free subject of the kingdom of Scotland, which hath laws and privileges of their own as free as any kingdom in the world, to which I will stand. There have been no summons lawfully executed against me. The noblemen here present and I am not in our own country. The charge 'super inquirendis' was declared long since to be

be unjust. I am bound by no law to accuse myself, neither to furnish accusation against myself." He desired the noblemen present to remember what they were, and to deal with him, howbeit a mean man, yet as a freeborn Scotchman, as they would be content to be used themselves, that is, according to the laws of the realm of Scotland. A. D. 1606.

This manly freedom of speech was little less than treason at the court of James; and is unpardonably omitted by Spotswood, whose reflections upon the situation of the ministers are far from being either decent or charitable. Hamilton, the king's advocate for Scotland, pressed Melvil to give in some other answer; but Melvil told him, that though he did not profess law, he understood logic. After his examination was finished, his brother Andrew was called in; but his behaviour was far from being either so prudent or so temperate as that of his brother. Instead of answering the questions put to him, he reproached the members for their degeneracy and apostacy from the cause of Scotch liberty, which he said they were betraying and overturning. It is possible that this firmness of the ministers disconcerted James and his counsellors; nor do I see how they could have been punished in England for any malversations which they might have committed in Scotland. Be that as it will, they were dismissed without farther censure. At last, the ministers

A D. 1606. ministers gave in their answers to the questions put to them; but they proved so unsatisfactory, that upon pressing for leave to return to Scotland, they were, according to Calderwood, threatened to be committed prisoners to the houses of eight different English prelates. They looked upon this as so disgraceful a punishment, that in order to avoid it, they consented to break up their little society which they had lived in since their arrival in England, and to take separate lodgings, while they continued there.

The elder
Melvil im-
prisoned.

James and his courtiers finding that it would be very difficult to convict the obnoxious preachers, who stood upon their national privileges, confined their resentment to Mr. Andrew Melvil, who had laid himself open, by some personal imprudences in his behaviour, and by a very indecent epigram, which he had written in derision of the church of England *.

* The history of this epigram is so little known, that it may be termed an anecdote, and I shall give it from Calderwood. When Melvil and his brother were ordered to attend the English service at the king's chapel, they found the royal altar, at which the king and queen offered, decorated with two shut books, two chalices, (by Calderwood called basons) and two candlesticks, with two blind candles. Those ornaments, with the ceremonies of the service, gave occasion to a German, who was in company with Melvil, to say in Latin, "I never saw such worship. There is really nothing of a solemn mass wanting here, but the adoration of the consecrated bread." This drew from Melvil the following epigram:

Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo, regia in ara,
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?

Nim

He and his brother, with Wallace, were summoned to appear before the council of England, where Andrew Melvil being taxed for being author of the epigram, owned that he was. Though, at the time I now write, no legal censure could be inflicted on the author of such a composition, yet it was then highly criminal, and deemed to be little less than treasonable. By Calderwood's account, Melvil's own behaviour was far from softening the charge; for he grossly and personally abused such of the English privy-counsellors as were prelates, particularly Bancroft archbishop of Canterbury, even to the taking hold of, and shaking, his lawn sleeves, which he called Romish rags. So intemperate a behaviour, which Spotswood says resembled that of a madman, could not have been overlooked under the mildest government; and Melvil was committed first to the custody of the dean of St. Paul's, and then to the Tower of London, where he lay prisoner above three years. He was delivered, at last, at the intercession of the duke of Bouillon, and died of the gout at Sedan, obscure and unnoticed. As to the other ministers detained in England, great intercession was made for them by their brethren of Scotland; and upon their making proper submissions, they were suffered to return home.

Num sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,

Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta sua.

Romano & ritu dum regalem instruit aram,

Purpuream pingit relligiosa lupam!

A.D. 1607.

In the parliament held this year at London, great debates happened upon the article drawn up by the commissioners for the union; a copy of which was sent by the lords to the commons. As the arguments made use of by James and his courtiers, give more insight into the real constitution of Scotland at that time, than the reader can find in any printed tract or history, I shall give some account of the debate, as I find it in the English records.

Proceedings
of the Eng-
lish parlia-
ment rela-
ting to the
union.

Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards the celebrated lord Verulam, who was under some cloud at court, on account of the part he had acted in the tragedy of Essex, wanting to reinstate himself in the king's good graces, undertook to manage the house of commons on this occasion. They sent a message to the lords, desiring them to consider those parts of the articles which concerned naturalization and the borders. Though the lords were offended at the message, yet it produced a conference, which, though Bacon exerted in it all his abilities and eloquence, came to nothing. Both houses adjourning to the second of February, the gross partiality which James shewed to his native subjects in the intermediate time, increased the aversion of the English to the union. Whatever complaisance the members of parliament, or even the privy-council, might shew for the royal pleasure, yet they were secretly averse to the whole project. On pretence of facilitating

facilitating it, English merchants were examined at the council-board, where they declared that an union would be fatal to the commerce of England, on account of the superior privileges that the Scots enjoyed in France. For this and many other reasons, they declared the difficulties attending the scheme to be unfurmountable. When the parliament met, a violent opposition to the union appeared in the house of commons. Though Sir Christopher Piggot treated the Scotch nation in general with great indelicacy, if not scurrility, he met with no censure, till James threatened to proceed against him in the star-chamber, and then he was sent prisoner to the Tower. In the debate which followed, Bacon was baffled by one Mr. Fuller, an English member. He complained, but perhaps without truth, that the trade of England was already decayed, since the accession of James to that throne; and that the Scotch would always be enabled, through the privileges they had in other countries, and their own penurious habits, to undersell the English in foreign markets. He complained of the prerogative being already too far stretched; and observed, that if the English queen Mary had had a son, that son must have been king of Spain and England likewise, and of many other dominions besides; and then he asked how it would have founded, in such a case, if a general bill of naturaliza-

A. D. 1607.

Journals of
the House
of Com-
mons.

A. D. 1607. tion of Spaniards, Sicilians, and other foreigners, had been brought into parliament?

Impolitic
speeches of
James.

I shall not enter upon the other arguments against the motion, in which Mr. Wentworth and Mr. Moore distinguished themselves greatly. Sir Francis Bacon, without venturing to answer the great objections arising from the dissimilarity of the two constitutions, and the unequal property of the people, insisted chiefly upon the great quantities of waste ground in England capable of improvement; upon the necessity of a farther union by naturalization, and the great encrease of surety, glory, and greatness, which such an union would produce. "England, said he, with Scotland united, with Ireland reduced, with the Low Countries contracted, and with shipping (that valuable monarchy) maintained, will form the greatest empire that has been heard of for many ages." All his eloquence, and the profusion of learning which he displayed, could not reconcile the members to the naturalization scheme, which they declared to be inconsistent with all former precedents and rules of the English constitution. In short, they appeared more averse than ever to the proposed union. Many of the members, lawyers especially, being afraid of the king's displeasure, and star-chamber prosecutions, absented themselves from the house; and matters were in this very disagreeable situation, when

James,

A. D. 1607.

James, on the thirty-first of March, ordered both houses to attend him at Whitehall. He there entertained them with a tedious speech against verbosity, and with many encomiums upon his own judgment, lenity, and prerogative. He said, that the king was a speaking law; and he reproached the commons for being animated in their debates by a spirit of curiosity. He made some faint apologies for his past liberalities to the Scotch, and promised not to be guilty of the like for the future. He next pressed the abolition of all hostile laws between the two kingdoms; and put the members in mind, that the judges had given it as their opinion, which he had confirmed by proclamation, that the "post nati," or the Scots who were born after his accession to the crown of England, were naturalized Englishmen. He recommended it to them to proceed consistently with the good of both kingdoms. "But, said he, remember also, it is as possible, and likely, your own lawyers may err, as well as judges. Therefore, as I wish you to proceed herein so far as may tend to the weal of both nations; so would I have you, on the other part, to beware to disgrace either my proclamation or the judges; who, when the parliament is done, have power to try your lands and lives; for so you may disgrace both your king and your laws."

A. D. 1607. 677 This menace was not very proper for convincing the minds of the English to the union. He then attempted to shew the great sacrifices he offered to make, as it was his undoubted prerogative to dispose of the rents of the crown to the Scots, to prefer them to civil or ecclesiastical posts, all which points of prerogative he was willing should be restricted. He next proceeded to consider the case of naturalization according to the civil law, which, he said, undoubtedly enabled the king to denaturate civitatem, "to make a citizen of an alien," he observed, as the question of the "post-nati" was, at best, doubtful amongst the English lawyers; so he, as being the speaking law, was, by his decision, to supply the doubts and defects of the written law. He then admits, that perhaps one or two particular merchants in England may suffer by the admission of the Scots; but he thinks that inconveniency to be inconsiderable, compared to the general good that would arise to the whole empire from the union. James afterwards proceeds to remove some objections: First, "that there is an evil affection in the Scotch nation to the union: next, that union is incompatible between two such nations: thirdly, that the gain is small or none." James shewed himself no great politician, when he endeavoured to answer those objections, which even the commissioners of the incorporate union in queen Anne's time could not

A.D. 1607.

not get over, as the civil rights of the two kingdoms continue still separate. He told the assembly, that the words "fundamental laws," when applied to Scotland, meant little or nothing more than securing the right of his family to that throne, which it had possessed three hundred years before Christ. As for common law, he said they had no such thing; for all that was *off jus negis*, "the law of the king." "This," continues he, "I may say for Scotland, and I may truly vauit it; here I sit, and govern it with my pen; I write, and it is done; and by a clerk of the council I govern Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword." He then affirmed, that the Scots had no freedom of speech in their parliament; and he was ignorant enough to say, that James the first brought the feudal law of Scotland out of the English chancery, in the beginning of the reign of Henry the fifth of England. He said, that the statute law of Scotland was of the same nature with that of England, to be made and unmade at pleasure; and that the civil law was merely supplemental of the statute law. His inference from this deduction was, that it would be easy to model the Scotch laws according to those of England.

The most observable passage, however, relating to Scotland in this speech, is what James says concerning the kings of Scotland having no negative upon acts passed by their parliament.

D. 1607. ment. That this was a fundamental principle in the Scotch constitution can admit of no doubt, with those who have perused the preceding parts of this history, particularly the reign of the four first James's. James the sixth finding the principle too stubborn to be removed, had the address to evade it, by saying that tho' he could impose no negative after an act was passed, yet he had a negative upon its being brought into parliament; for it was in his power to prevent any bill from being proposed. We have already seen in what manner, and by what degrees, he established this shameful prerogative. I have in the notes * given the de-

* "At what time the lords of the articles were established is uncertain. But as the sessions of our parliament were generally short, it was found necessary, when business multiplied, to elect a certain number out of each estate, to prepare and digest matters for the parliament. This select body was called the Lords of the Articles; and it was a rule, that no business could be introduced into parliament, but what was prepared by these lords. This was in reality a negative before debate, which is of vastly greater importance than the king's negative after; and the worst of it is, that there was no remedy in our constitution against the partiality of the lords of the articles, however glaring it might be. A body thus constituted, could not fail in time to ingross, in a great measure, the authority of parliament. And, in fact, so limited were, at length, the powers of the parliament, that it seldom had occasion to sit above two days. On the first day of meeting, an equal number out of each estate were chosen to be lords of the articles, to whom the king joined eight of his crown-officers. These received all the grievances or articles that were brought to them, and formed them into bills, or rejected them at their pleasure. When all matters were ready, the parliament sat another day, and it was their only business to approve or reject the bills that were laid before them.

Such was the practice in the year 1587, when that of James the first was revived. The king had a fair chance to secure the lords

tail of particulars in the words of a great authority; but those of James himself leave us no room to doubt how faithfully he concentrated in his own prerogative, all the provisions that his parliament could devise. "I am (said he) the eldest parliament-man in Scotland; and have sat in more parliaments than any of my predecessors. I can assure you, that the form of parliament there is nothing inclined to popularity. About twenty days, or such a time, before the parliament, proclamation is made

lords of the articles for him, whether by influencing their election, or by gaining them after they were elected. At any rate, eight officers of state devoted to the king, must have had great influence in so small a body. By this means, the king was pretty sure that nothing would be brought into parliament without his approbation. But this influence was not reckoned sufficient. About this very time, or soon after, a scheme was laid, and executed, to improve upon the foregoing regulation. Under pretext that the lords of the articles had not sufficient time to overtake the multiplicity of affairs laid before them, four persons were to be named out of each state, whose province it was to meet twenty days before the parliament, to receive all applications, &c. to reject what they thought frivolous or improper, and to digest into a book what they chose to lay before the lords of the articles. This was done by the act 218, parl. 1594. The act may be thought defective, as no provision is made in it for the choice of this select body. But this was purely an artifice. It would have been too barefaced to have named the king openly; for it was the same with giving him a negative before debate: and yet obviously the choice behoved to rest upon the king; for a body that was to meet before the sitting of the parliament, could not possibly be chosen by the parliament. But this was not all. To secure to the king absolutely the power of bringing matters into parliament, it is further declared, "to be the privilege of the king, to bring directly into parliament all matters concerning himself, or common good of the realm." See *Essays on several Subjects*, p. 46, &c.

about

through-

A. D. 1602. throughout the kingdom to deliver in to the king's clerk of register (whom you here call master of the rolls) all bills to be exhibited that session, before a certain day. Then are they brought unto the king, and perused, and considered by him; and only such as I allow of are put into the chancellor's hands, to be propounded to the parliament, and none others: and if any man in parliament speak of any other matter than is in this form first allowed by me, the chancellor tells him, there is no such bill allowed by the king.—Besides, when they have passed them for laws, they are presented unto me; and with my sceptre, put into my hand by the chancellor, I must say, I ratify and approve all things done in this present parliament: and if there be any thing that I dislike, they raise it out before. If this may be called a negative voice, then I have one: I am sure in that parliament.”

Reflection.

Thus far I have thought proper to relate the proceedings of the English parliament, with regard to an incorporate union with Scotland; but as the proposal had no effect, I shall not descend into farther particulars. James most impolitically pressed it upon the stress of his own sincerity and prerogative. The English distrusted the one, and questioned the other. This research enlarged their ideas of public liberty; and the partiality which James showed to his native subjects, rendered them so jealous,

A.D. 1607.

that they investigated points which they otherwise never would have examined. It is to this jealousy that we are to ascribe the difference between his reign and that of Elizabeth, and by it we carefully reserve the argument thrown in by the advocates of Stuartine despotism, that James and Charles the first did not arrogate a higher firmity of prerogative than was exercised by the Tudors. Certainly not. But this argument is equally applicable to religious and every other affirmation. Those high prerogatives rested on a rotten foundation, which gave way under the progress of learning and liberal enquiry. As to the constitution of Scotland, which originally was more free, perhaps, than that of any country in the world, the reader has already heard from the mouth of James himself, how shamefully it was perverted by the tools of power.

Though James was disappointed in his great aim of a union, yet the English parliament seconded him with great zeal in all his measures for promoting a federal union, and for abolishing every hostile distinction between the two kingdoms.

The practices of the jesuits and papists had been so fully laid open by the detection and prosecution of the gunpowder conspirators, that James now thought the Roman catholics were no longer to be trusted. He therefore ordered the laws in Scotland against papists to

The Roman
catholics
persecuted
in Scotland.

A. D. 1607. be put in full execution, and an assembly of the church was indicted at Linlithgow. The earl of Dunbar presented a letter from the king, containing an overture for a president to be chosen, by way of moderator, in every presbytery; but recommending the preference to the bishops, whose abilities and revenues were best able to support that dignity. This overture, with some restrictions, was agreed upon; so that we may look on the church of Scotland, at this period, to be fully episcopized. James still ordered the prosecutions of the papists to be continued; and the rather, because, by means of the marquis of Huntley, they were become very insolent in the north. Nothing could be more agreeable to the assembly than such mandates from court; and they addressed the king that the marquis of Huntley, and the earls of Angus and Errol, with their ladies, should be confined to certain towns or districts, both to prevent their practices, and that they might be reclaimed from popery. James softly refused to agree to this petition; but enjoined his clergy to omit no means for the discouragement of popery, though he ordered them to execute no harsh measures against the lords complained of, till the whole process was laid before himself. The harmony was now so good between the king and his clergy, that the latter suffered Mr. Andrew Melvil's place, as provost in the new college of St. Andrew's,

drew's, to be filled up by another, in consequence of a royal commission for that purpose. A. D. 1607.

The union between the king and clergy did not abolish family animosities in Scotland, which raged almost as much as ever. The lord Spynie was killed by a gentleman of the name of Lindsay. The lord Maxwell challenged the earl of Morton, with whom he was at variance, to single combat, for which he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. Escaping from thence, he murdered, upon a family difference, a worthy gentleman, who was baron of Johnston, for which Maxwell was afterwards beheaded at Edinburgh. The project of civilizing the islanders was again resumed; but as it was directly contrary to the aristocratical powers of the marquis of Huntley and the earl of Argyle, who had no idea of any grandeur but that of commanding slaves and barbarians, it was dropt.

James having miscarried in his project of a union in England, would willingly have brought the Scotch parliament to make some advances towards a measure which he had so much at heart. I perceive, however, that the Scots were, if possible, still more averse than the English themselves to any incorporate union. This is pretty extraordinary, considering the vast sway which James then had in Scotland; but he found that popular prejudices were not to be subdued. He appointed

1608.
Civil dif-
fensions
there.

A. D. 1608. the duke of Lenox to be his commissioner in a parliament held at Edinburgh in August. Upon the meeting of that assembly, the members were so complaisant to James, as to approve of the articles which had been drawn up in England; but they voted that it should have no effect, unless they were ratified by an English parliament. It was likewise declared, *Spotswood.* "that if the union should happen to take effect, the kingdom, notwithstanding, should remain an absolute and free monarchy, and the fundamental laws receive no alteration." This seems to have been the decision of all attempts towards an union in this reign, to the vast regret of James.

An assembly
at Linlith-
gow.

The complaints against the three popish noblemen still continued in Scotland, where popery gained ground in the north. James ordered an assembly to meet at Linlithgow; and to give it the greater sanction, he nominated the earls of Dunbar, Winton, and Lothian, to be his commissioners. The result of their deliberations was, that the discipline of the protestant church of Scotland was greatly relaxed; and that the encrease of popery in the north was owing to the marquis of Huntley, for which he was solemnly excommunicated, and the other popish lords were threatened with the same penalty. A petition was at the same time presented to the king for preventing the encrease of popery, signed by numbers of the nobility, barons, and clergy.

I have already mentioned the letter which James was supposed to send to the pope, together with his own, and his secretary's disavowal of the same. This year, cardinal Bellarmine published a piece, in which he mentioned that letter as a reality, to the great astonishment of James, who pretended to think it a mere allegation, contrived by the court of Rome to keep up the spirits of its votaries. Secretary Elphinston durst not deny his having obtained the hand of James to that letter surreptitiously; but pretended that he had done it with a good design, that of bringing the pope to favour his majesty's accession to the crown of England. The terms upon which James stood at this time with the English nation, did not admit his dallying with so direct a charge as that which Bellarmine had brought against him. Whether James knew of the letter, which undoubtedly was sent to the pope, is still a mystery. I am, however, inclined to believe, that the prosecution brought against secretary Elphinston on that account, was concerted between him and his master. He had amassed a large fortune; and he knew how unequal the asseveration of his innocence must be to that of his royal accuser. The council of England charged Elphinston so warmly, that the chancellor of Scotland advised lord Balmerino (for Elphinston was at this time dignified with that title) to go to the English court, and

A. D. 1608.
Prosecution
and conviction
of lord
Balmerino.
Vol. viii.
p. 354.

Ibid.

A. D. 1608. and clear up his own and his master's character. Balmerino accordingly went to England, where he frankly confessed that he had fraudulently obtained the king's hand to such a letter. **MSS.** Balfour, and several other writers, seem to be of opinion that this was a simulated confession, (as they call it) and made in concert with the king. Whatever may be in this, he repeated it in form to the council of England, who remitted his punishment to the laws of Scotland, to which he was passed as a common vagabond from shire to shire.

At first he was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and from thence carried to that of Falkland, where the crime was supposed to be committed. He then took his trial at St. Andrew's, before the justice-general, the earls of Dunbar, Montrose, and Lothian; the lord privy-seal, and clerk-register. His indictment ran: "That in the year 1598, by the instigation of his cousin Sir Edward Drummond, a professed papist, he had stolen and surreptitiously purchased his majesty's hand to a letter written by the said Sir Edward, and directed to pope Clement the eighth in favour of the bishop of Vaiffon, for the said bishop's preferment to the dignity of a cardinal; and that, notwithstanding the many denials the king gave him in that business, he had treasonably conspired with the said Sir Edward to deceive and abuse his majesty, shuffling in a letter

Spotfwood.

letter among others that were to be signed, with the files and titles usually given to the pope, and sealed the letter with his majesty's signet, the keeping whereof was intrusted to him by virtue of his office; and in so doing, had most undutifully and treasonably behaved himself, to the indangering of his majesty's honor, life, crowned estate, and to the subversion of the true religion, and the whole possessors thereof." A. D. 1608.

Balmerino gave the court no trouble in trying him; for he confessed the indictment, and received sentence of death. Calderwood (for whose veracity I have great regard) throws in a very suspicious circumstance as to this trial; for he says, that in certain memorials written by Balmerino himself, are the following words: "Next followed my conviction in St. Andrew's, wherein I was the only actor myself, to give his majesty satisfaction, following in every point the earl of Dunbar's direction, brought to me, either by my lord Burleigh, or the lord Scoon." The same author observes, that no public notice of Balmerino's confession was given to foreign powers. It is certain that he was pardoned, though the dignity of government, the nature of his crime, and the character of James himself, required that he should be capitally punished. By the intercession of the queen (who, as I have already hinted, seems to have been
deeply

A. D. 1662. deeply concerned in his treason) he was permitted to enjoy a certain district about Falkland, and then to retire to his own house at Balmerino, where he died of grief and vexation. Archbishop Spotswood, who was his enemy, says, that he opposed the restoration of the episcopal order in Scotland, lest he should be obliged to refund part of the property which he held from the church; and it is generally thought that he was so much in the private good graces of James, that had he survived the earl of Salisbury, he would have appointed him his principal secretary of state in England. After all, his trial and condemnation was of infinite service to James, because they impressed both protestants and papists with favourable ideas of his candour. This rendered it more easy for him to complete the only measure which now remained for episcopizing Scotland, I mean his procuring the archbishop of Glasgow, and two other Scotch prelates, to be consecrated by the English bishops, by which the line of apostolical succession (as it was called) was kept up in Scotland.

1669.
Sequel of
Gowry's
conspiracy.

About this time the doubtful conspiracy of Gowry was revived in a very extraordinary manner. Several persons had suffered death on that account; but no clear confession could be obtained from any, of an actual design to murder the king upon the spot. The flat contradictions

ditions between his majesty and Henderson, A.D. 1669.
the only two surviving persons concerned in
the original danger of James, had given the
public very unfavourable impressions, as to the
truth of the conspiracy; but an incident now
happened that makes it pretty evident that a
design had been formed, at least, to deprive
James of his liberty. One Sprot, a notary pub-
lic at Ayemouth, a man of a very flight charac-
ter, had been several times heard in his cups to
say, that he knew there was a combination be-
tween Robert Logan, late of Restalrig, and the
late earl of Gowry, against James. The earl of
Dunbar, a shrewd vigilant minister, thought he
could not do his master better service than by
clearing up this point; and he gave orders that
Sprot should be apprehended, which he accord-
ingly was. Being examined before the privy
council, he said that one Bour, a servant to Re-
stalrig, was the agent between the latter and
the earl of Gowry, and managed their corres-
pondence. This Bour could, it seems, neither
read nor write; but Sprot's intimacy with Lo-
gan was such, that he often heard the latter
read Gowry's missives, and likewise the conver-
sation that passed between Bour and Logan.
The counsellors demanded of Sprot, "Whether
he could produce any of the letters that passed
between the two parties?" Upon which Sprot
mentioned one, of which he exhibited a copy,
and said he had left the original at home.

Vot. IX.

I

Bour,

A. D. 1609. Bour, at the same time, hinted that Logan was in the high way to perdition by his correspondence with Gowry. The only suspicious part of this evidence is, the indifference which Sprot discovered with regard to life, or rather a seeming earnestness to die; for his judges told him again and again, that he was to expect no pardon if he persisted in his confessions. He was tried before the lord justice of Scotland and other commissioners, and a very respectable jury brought him in guilty of death. The reader in the notes * will find the particulars

Sprot's trial
and execu-
tion.

* " And first George Sprot confesseth, That he knew perfectly that Robert Logan, late of Restalrig, was privy, and upon foreknowledge of John late earl of Gowry's treasonable conspiracy. That he knew, there were divers letters interchanged betwixt them anent their treasonable purpose July 1606, which letters James Bour, called Laird Bour, servitor to Restalrig (employed betwixt them, and privy to all that errand) had in keeping, and shewed the same to Sprot in Fast-castle. That Sprot was present when Bour, after five days absence, returned with answers by letter from Gowry, and staid all night with Restalrig at his house at Gunnes-green, and rode the next morning to Lethmear, where he staid five days, then to Fast-castle, where he abode a short space.

" That he saw and heard Restalrig read these letters, which Bour brought back from Gowry, and all their conference there anent; and that Bour said, Sir, if you think to get commodity by this dealing, lay your hand on your heart; and that Restalrig answered, though he should lose all in the world, yet he would pass through with Gowry: for that matter would as well content him as the kingdom. To whom Bour said, You may do as you please, Sir; but it is not my counsel that you should be so sudden in that other matter. But for the condition of Darlton, I would like very well of it. To this Restalrig answered, Content yourself; I am at my wits end.

" That Sprot himself entered into a conference with Bour, demanding what was to be done between the earl and the laird? Bour answered, That he believed that the laird would get Darlton without gold or silver: but feared it would be dearer to him.

" That

of Sprot's trial and condemnation, which leave A. D. 1609.
no room to doubt that there was a treasonable

" That Sprot inquiring further, How that should be done? Bour said, They have another pye in hand than buying and selling of land : but prayed Sprot, for God's sake, that he would let be, and not be troubled with the laird's business : for he feared that within few days the laird would be landless and lifeless.

" And Sprot being demanded afterwards, if all these confessions were true, as he would answer upon the salvation of his soul, seeing his death was near approaching ? Sprot said,

" That he had no desire to live, and had care only of clearing his conscience in the truth : and that all the former points and circumstances were true, with the depositions made by him the fifth of July last, and the whole confession made by him since, as he hoped to be saved ; and which he would seal with his blood.

" And further being depofed, Where was now the letter of Restalrig to Gowry ? He answered, That he had this letter amongst other of Restalrig's papers, which Bour had in keeping, and which Sprot copied out ; and that he left the principal letter in his chest amongst his writings when he was taken and brought away ; and that it is closed and folded in a sheet of paper.

" These depositions made by George Sprot the tenth of August 1608, and others before (being all included in his indictment following ; to which, for brevity, I shall remit the reader) and written by James Primrose, clerk of the king's council, and subscribed George Sprot.

Present,

" Earl of Dunbar, earl of Lothian, bishop of Ross, lord Schone, lord Holyrood-house, lord Blantire, Sir William Hart lord justice, Mr. John Hall, Mr. Patrick Galloway, Mr. Peter Hewet, ministers of Edinburgh, and subscribed with all their hands.

" The next day, the eleventh of August, Sprot was re-examined, and to him declared the assurance of his death, and was advised not to abuse his conscience to witness untruths, and upon the innocency of the dead or living. To which he depofeth, That being resolved to die, and as he wishes to be participant of heaven, upon the salvation or damnation of his soul, that all that he had depofed were true in every point and circumstance, and no untruth in them.

I 2

" The

A. D. 1609. correspondence between Logan and Gowry.
 Sprot, persisted in maintaining the truth of

"The next day being the twelfth of August, 1609, Sprot was presented in judgment upon a panel within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, before Sir William Hart, knight, lord-justice of Scotland, assisted with these persons, viz. Alexander, earl of Dunbar, lord-chancellor; George, earl of Dunbar, lord-treasurer; John, archbishop of Glasgow; David, bishop of Elgin; Gavin, bishop of Galloway; Andrew, bishop of Brechin; David, earl of Crawford; Mark, earl of Lothian; James, lord Abernethy of Galloway; James Elphinstone, lord of Belmerie; Walter, lord of Bliestie; John, lord Burley; Sir Richard Colman, knight; Mr. John Preston, collector general; Sir John Skene, knight, register."

"And he was declared, accused, and pursued by Sir Thomas Hamilton, knight, advocate to the king, for his highness's entries of the crimes contained in his indictment; whereof the tenour follows, viz.

"George Sprot, notary in Ayrmouth, You are indicted, and accused, forasmuch as John sometimes earl of Gowry, having most cruelly, detestably, and treasonably conspired this month of July, the year of God 1609, to murder our dear and most gracious sovereign, the king's most excellent majesty; and having imparted that devilish purpose to Robert Logan of Restalrig, who allowed of the same, and most willingly and readily undertook to be partaker thereof; the same coming to your knowledge at the times, and in the manner particularly after specified, you most unnaturally, maliciously, and treasonably, concealed the same, and was art and part thereof in manner following. And first, In the said month of July 1609, after you had perceived and known, that divers letters and messages had passed between the said John sometimes earl of Gowry, and the said Robert Logan of Restalrig, you being in the house of Balcaskie, you saw and read a letter written by the said Restalrig with his own hand to the said earl of Gowry, viz.

"My Lord, &c. At the receipt of your letter I am comforted, that I can neither utter my joy, nor find myself sufficiently able to requite your lordship with due thanks. And persuade your lordship, in that matter I shall be as forward for your honour as if it were my own cause. And I think there is no Christian that would not be content to revenge that Machiavelian massacring of our dear friends: Yea, howbeit it should be so venture and hazard life, lands, and all things else, my heart can bind me to take part in that matter, as your lordship shall find

his confession, even upon the ladder. We are A. D. 1609.
told, that some of the by-standers seeming to

find proof thereof. But one thing would be done, namely, that your lordship should be circumspect and earnest with your brother, that he be not rash in any speeches touching the purpose of Raduac. And a certain space after the execution of the aforesaid treason, the said Robert began having desired the laird of Bour to deliver to him the said letter, or else to burn it; and Bour having given to you all tickets and letters, which he then had, either concerning Ristaleig or others, to see the same, because he could not read himself; you abstracted the above-written letter, and retained the same in your own hands, and divers times read it, containing farther, to wit, "My Lord, You may easily understand, that such a purpose as your lordship intendeth, cannot be done rashly, but with deliberation. And I think for myself, that it were most meet to have the men your lordship speaks of, ready in a boat or bark, and address them as if they were taking pastime on the sea in such fair summer time. And if your lordship could think good, either yourself to come to my house, Fast-castle, by sea, or to send your brother; I should have the house very quiet, and well provided after your lordship's advertisement. And no others shall have access to haunt the place, during your being there. And if your lordship doubt of safe landing, I shall provide all such necessities as may serve for your arrival, within a flight-shot of the house. And persuade your lordship, you shall be as sure and quiet here, while we have settled our plot, as if you were in your own chamber. For I trust, and am assured, we shall have word within few days from them your lordship knows of. For I have care to see what ships come home by. Your lordship knows I have kept the lord Bothwell quietly in this house in his greatest extremity, in spite of the king and council. I hope if all things come to pass, (as I trust they shall) to have both your lordship and his lordship at a good dinner ere I die." Hæc Jacobi. To animate your lordship, I doubt not but all these things will be well; and I am resolved thereof, your lordship shall not doubt of any thing on my part: Peril of life, lands, honor, and goods; yea, the hazard of hell shall not assay me from that; yea, though the scaffold were already set up. The sooner the matter were done, it were the better. For the king's black-hunting will be shortly, and I hope it will prepare some calamity cheer for us to live the next year. I remember

A. D. 1609. question his veracity, he said he would give them a signal which would put it out of question, even after he was turned over; and this signal he accordingly gave, by three times clapping his hands over his head while he was suspended from the gallows. This last circumstance we have from Spotswood himself; tho' he very unaccountably professes his disbelief of Sprot's confession.

A convention sat at Edinburgh in the beginning of the year 1609, in which several acts were made in favour of the protestant religion; particularly against young noblemen and gentlemen travelling to popish countries. One of those acts provided, that each pupil should be attended on his travels by a tutor of the bishops nomination.

ber well, my lord, that merry sport which your lordship's brother told me, of a nobleman of Padua: for I think that a parasite to this purpose.

"My Lord, think nothing that I commit the secret hereof to this bearer: for I dare not only venture my life, lands, honour, and all I have else, on his credit; but I durst hazard my soul in his keeping, I am so persuaded of his fidelity. And I trow (as your lordship may ask him if it be true) he would go to hell gates for me, and he is not beguiled of my part to him. And therefore I doubt not, but this will persuade your lordship to give him trust in this matter as to myself. But I pray you direct him home again with all speed possible; and give him strict command, that he take not a wink of sleep, till he see me again after he comes from you. And as your lordship desireth in your letter to me, either rive or burn this letter, or send it back again with the bearer: for so is the fashion I grant.

Resfalrig.

"Which letter writ every word with the said Robert Logan's own hand, was also so subscribed with this word, Resfalrig."

Tho'

Tho' the earl of Dunbar died at this time, as the first minister of Scotland, and the lord chancellor seemed to be entirely restored to the king's good graces, yet James remained still without a favourite, which was to him a most undesirable state of life. His son, prince Henry, was now a promising youth, and discovered such parts as privately gave James some uneasiness, and increased his desire to have some person to whom he might confide himself. He threw his eyes upon a comely young man, one Car, who had been his page, and had the misfortune to break his leg as he was presenting James with his shield at a tournament. James demeaned himself so far as to visit him while his cure was completing; and after he was recovered, he became the reigning favourite at court, and received the honour of knighthood. The death of the earl of Dunbar, which happened soon after, rendered Car the first minister as well as favourite of James; so that he might have been then said to be in full possession of the cabinet. He was insolent, ungrateful, and wicked, but full of dissimulation; and not without parts, tho' not above twenty years of age. His honours came so rapidly upon him, that on the ninth of April 1611, he was made viscount Rochester; and in the May following he was, together with the duke of York, install'd knight of the garter. But

As B. 1611.
Sudden rise
of Car, earl
of Somerset.

A. D. 1630. I am now to leave this worthless favourite to attend the affairs of Scotland.

Promiscuous affairs of Scotland.

These were chiefly ecclesiastical. The earl-marshal represented the king's person in parliament; and the earl of Dunbar was his commissioner in the assembly, where many arrangements were made, by the king's direction, for enlarging the episcopal powers, as well as for harmonizing the worship and discipline of the church. The marquis of Huntley continued still a prisoner at Stirling; but now offered to conform himself to the national church. The bishops, however, did not immediately absolve him from his ecclesiastical censures; but in December he was delivered out of his confinement. The earl of Errol was so conscientious in his profession of popery, that he gave public testimonies of his sorrow for his ever seducing to doubt of the truth of that religion. Being considered as a man of conscience, he was treated with great lenity. The earl of Angus had remained a prisoner at Glasgow, but was now suffered to go abroad, and he died soon after at Paris. This year a high ecclesiastical commission, for the better government of the church, was instituted by James; and the directions which he sent down for the commissioners were accepted of by the clergy, to the great discontent of the nobility, and the officers of state. Like directions were, at the

same

1630

A.D. 1610.

same time, sent for regulating the privy council; but as I must reserve that subject, I shall omit them here, as well as the description of the robes which James ordered to be worn by the judges in Scotland. I perceive that this year four extraordinary lords of session were removed, upon some disgust conceived against them by James, and that the instructions of the chancery were still frequent. James, at first, had thoughts of employing the master of the Libardine to subdue them, but the powers he required were so exorbitant, that they were deemed to be derogatory to the royal authority. Upon this he was set aside, and the service was committed to the earl of Argyll, who (if we are to believe archbishop Spotswood) performed it, but very imperfectly. There and not worth the trouble.

The earl of Orkney at the same time gave the government great inquiet. He exercised the most tyrannical powers in those isles, and over all his tenants, whom, by his own authority, he punished with arbitrary confiscations, and sometimes capitally. His islands served as the receptacle of pirates; and I perceive that this year the council of Scotland fitted out three ships to subdue them. One of their ships was taken after a desperate engagement, and twenty-seven of the crew were hanged, but James spared some, for the benefit of their discoveries. As to the

The earl of Orkney imprisoned.

Balfour's MSS.

A. D. 1610. earl of Orkney himself, his oppressive acts were formally censured by the council, and he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh.

1611. Car, who was of the Farnhurst family, had been now created earl of Somerset, and monopolised all places of power and profit in Scotland. He was declared lord-treasurer, upon the death of the earl of Dunbar; and Sir William Cranston's government on the borders was given to one of his cousins. Sir Gideon Murray, his uncle, was made deputy-treasurer, and another of his kinsmen, Sir Thomas Hamilton, was first appointed register, and then secretary of state. Skene, one of the ablest lawyers, and the greatest antiquary in Scotland, had long held the place of register, and, not being able to procure it for his son, he died of grief. All other promotions in Scotland went by the same channel; but Spotswood himself thinks, that many of the persons who were advanced by Somerset deserved their promotion, and that he did not thereby incur much unpopularity in that kingdom, where James commonly rewarded either with honours or titles, or other preferments, those who had lost their places.

1612. This year, the insolence of Somerset in England became so odious, as to threaten an insurrection. Ramsay, one of the king's Scotch courtiers, had beaten the earl of Montgomery

A. D. 1612.

gomery when a commoner; and his tamenefs, in not resenting it, was rewarded by James with a peerage. One Maxwell, a Scotchman, likewise had offered at court so gross an affront to an English lawyer, that it became a common cause with all the gentlemen of the long robe; and some talk passed about cutting off the Scots wherever they could be found in England. The Elector Palatine was then in England, and courting the princess Elizabeth, who was afterwards so famous by the title of Queen of Bohemia. James, who valued himself upon the respect paid him by his subjects before foreigners, did all he could to stifle the public discontents; and had now an opportunity of convincing the English that his partiality for Scotland was not so excessive as it had been represented. Creighton lord Sanquhair happening to lose his eye by the foil of a fencing-master, one Turner, imagined himself reproached by Henry the fourth of France for suffering the fencing-master to live; and Sanquhair, upon his return to England, employed an assassin, one Carlisle, who pistoled Turner at his own door. James immediately issued a proclamation, with a large reward, for apprehending the two criminals. Carlisle was taken; and Sanquhair surrendering himself to the archbishop of Canterbury, both of them were tried and condemned. Great intercession was made for Sanquhair, who was other-

Trial and execution of lord Sanquhair for murder.

A. D. 1612.

Marriage
persecution,
and death of
the lady
Arabella
Stuart.

Vol. viii.
p. 390.

Ibid.

wife a gallant nobleman ; but James obstinately rejected all solicitations in his favour, and he was hanged before Westminster Hall gate.

- This sacrifice to justice by the ignominious punishment of a Scotch nobleman, somewhat quieted the resentment of the English ; but an incident which happened about this time, gave James fresh matter of uneasiness. The lady Arabella Stuart, his cousin-german by his father's younger brother, was then subsisting at the English court upon a pension allowed her by James. We have already mentioned the marriage between her and Mr. Seymour, grandson to the earl of Hertford. It had been kept a secret from James ; and when he discovered it, being as touchy as Elizabeth herself was in those points, Seymour was committed prisoner to the Tower of London, and the lady was confined to Sir Thomas Parry's house at Lambeth, from whence she was ordered to repair to Durham. James and his son prince Henry, for the reasons I have already mentioned, considered this marriage in a political light, as being a conspiracy against their family. In this they were encouraged by Bacon, the court-lawyer of the times ; and the lady Arabella having escaped from her keepers in a man's disguise, when she had travelled as far as Highgate, went on board a French ship, which had been provided for her reception. Seymour escaped out of the Tower at the same time ;

time; but in attempting to join his lady, he was obliged to go on board a Newcastle ship, which, landed him on the coast of Flanders. The circumstances attending this double-escape heightened James's apprehension; and indeed I cannot help thinking that the whole was managed by jesuits or popish agents. Messengers were immediately dispatched to France, to secure the parties if landed there; and a small squadron was fitted out, which overtook the ship that carried lady Arabella, and she was sent prisoner to the Tower; where soon after she turned insane and died. The earl and countess of Shrewsbury, and the old lord Hertford, were confined at the same time for being privy to the marriage; nor did Seymour himself think it safe to return to England till after his lady's death.

A. D. 1581.

About the time that the marriage between the prince Palatine and the princess Elizabeth was concluded, the duke of Bouillon arrived ambassador from the French court, to propose to James a match between the prince of Wales and the princess Christina of France. Mary of Medicis, the queen-dowager of France, acted as regent of that kingdom, after the murder of her husband by Ravillac; and she thought such a marriage might be for the interest of her family, as it might diminish the influence of the French hugenots. The prince was at this time about eighteen years of age; and it is

A French match proposed for the prince of Wales.

A. D. 1612. thought, upon good grounds, that he was so great a favourite with Henry the fourth, that he was entrusted with the secret of that expedition, the preparations for which astonished all Europe at the time that Henry was murdered. Whatever may be in this, it appears that the prince had early conceived a violent jealousy of the house of Austria, and an abhorrence of popery. Upon the death of Henry the fourth he had even some thoughts, young as he was, of forming a league among the protestant princes of Europe, and of heading it himself, that he might complete the great designs which Henry had planned. He had already evaded a marriage proposed for him with the duke of Savoy's daughter, who was to have a fortune of seven hundred thousand crowns; and a letter (the last perhaps he ever wrote) has come to our hands, addressed to his father, in which he treats the proposal of the French match with coldness, if not aversion. "I have (says he) but little experience in political affairs, and cannot speak like a man smitten with love upon this occasion."

Conjectures
about his
death,

As the prince of Wales did not absolutely decline the match, it was warmly pressed by the queen-regent, who offered to make her daughter's fortune equal to that of the princess of Savoy, and James entered into her views. The prince secretly declared to Sir Henry Nevill that no idolater should ever come into his bed;

Letter from
Naunton to
Winwood.

and

A. D. 1612.

and he blamed Somerset and the Howard family, with whom that favourite was connected, for the shameful influence they had over his father. His open resentment against them, and his declarations that he would some day or other bring them to condign punishment, have given rise to many unfavourable conjectures as to the cause of his death, which were strengthened by the bloody disposition and profligate characters of Somerset, and Howard earl of Northampton. One of his Scotch domestics, Sir James Elphinston, perceiving how deeply the prince resented the earnestness with which the French match was pressed upon him, and how much he blamed the ascendancy which Somerset had over his father, offered to kill that favourite; when the prince nobly replied, "That if there was a cause to justify it, he would do it with his own hand." But the prince had other causes of displeasure against Somerset. The king's expences were so great, that tho' he had a vast revenue (I am apt to think, far greater than is generally imagined), his debts and necessities were daily increasing, as was his prodigality to Somerset. The earl of Salisbury, his lord-treasurer, was too wary a courtier openly to express to James his dislike of such profusion: but one day, when the king had ordered twenty thousand pounds to be paid to Somerset, he contrived that James should behold the whole sum in ready money.

but

ney.

A.D. 1612. ney. James was struck with the appearance, and ordered fifteen thousand pounds to be carried back to his treasury, and only the remaining five to be paid to Somerset. This was among the last acts of Salisbury's life, and James, by his death, lost the ablest minister that any prince of his race on the throne of England was blest with.

**Death of
the prince
of Wales.**

Upon the sixteenth of October, the prince Palatine arrived in person to espouse the princess Elizabeth. This match was disagreeable to the queen, who flattered herself with the thoughts of his Catholic majesty becoming her son-in-law; but she was soon undeceived as to his sincerity, and seemingly, at least, reconciled to the Palatine. While preparations were making for the marriage, the prince of Wales was suddenly taken ill; and a fever, which followed, put an end to his life on the sixth of November. His personal virtues have been exaggerated through his untimely fate, and the spirited resentment which he shewed towards his father's worthless favourites; but he certainly was a prince of great accomplishments, tho' the military character he affected, had he lived, might have rendered him a curse instead of a blessing to his people. The most serious and sensible protestants of those times were of opinion that he was poisoned; some thought, by the practices of the Roman catholics, who, before his death, made solemn prayers for the success of a cer-

A. D. 1612.

a certain great event, generally thought to be the death of a prince. Colonel Titus, so well known during the protectorate of Cromwell and the reign of Charles the second, according to bishop Burnet, was informed by Charles the first himself, "That he knew his brother was poisoned by Somerset;" and the following letter from Charles to his sister the Princess Palatine, which has been published by Mr. Hearne, gives great reason to believe that the colonel's information was true.

"My only dear Sister, I have received two letters from you since your returning, by the which I understand what I desire most, to wit, a good health of you and yours. I know you have understood by your father's secretary's letters, what great changes the poisoning of Overbury has made: I suspect other matters shall be found out, by the which it will appear, that more treacherous purposes were, perchance, intended against some, and practised against others. But of this you will hear more within a short time. All my care shall ever be to give you all proofs of that true affection which is due by me to you, as to Your most affectionate Brother, and your most humble and Servant."

Letter of Charles the first about his being poisoned.

The infamous history of the intrigue between Somerset and the countess of Essex, with their subsequent marriage after obtaining a shameful divorce, are well known; but are no

A. D. 1612. farther connected with the history of Scotland, than by the great events to which they gave rise. In the mean while the trade of Scotland went to decay. The French and foreign states no longer considered it as an independent kingdom, and obliged the Scotch to pay the same duties as the English. The chamber of burghs felt the effects of those impositions, and petitioned James for relief. I know of none they obtained, unless it was the removal of the Scotch factory from Middleburgh to Campvere. Sir James Balfour mentions, at this time, a taxation which seems to be imposed by James in virtue of his prerogative. This was an excise of herrings, exacted from the inhabitants of the coasts, particularly those of Fife, by one captain Mason, an Englishman. The people aggrieved complained of this oppressive, unprecedented taxation, and threatened to leave off the trade rather than pay it; upon which the collecting of it was discharged by the privy-council. I perceive that the trade of Scotland in the Baltic, laboured likewise under some oppressions this year, where it had been prohibited by several of the states; particularly the town of Stralsund. But, upon the representation of the merchants, James procured the trade to be again re-opened to his Scotch subjects.

Balfour's
MSS.

1613.
Poverty of
Scotland.

Other indications of the decay and poverty of Scotland, by the seat of government being transferred to England, was visible at the same time.

time. A motion was made in a parliament which A. D. 1613. was held in October, for granting a large supply to the crown on account of the princess Elizabeth's marriage. Archbishop Spotswood, who was now a great favourite with James, and a complete courtier, says, "That the motion was opposed chiefly by the Roman catholic party, who disliked the marriage, and pleaded the poverty of the country ; and that the lord Burley was first removed from the council, and then committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh for opposing the taxation. The motion, however, took place, and it was resolved by the majority, that a larger subsidy should be granted on this occasion than ever had been before known in Scotland. The unmerciful use which the nobility and great landholders of Scotland made of this taxation, had almost occasioned an insurrection ; for under pretence of raising it, they fleeced their tenants even to beggary. The privy-council interposed, and finding the danger grow threatening, they issued proclamations, prohibiting all such arbitrary transactions in time to come.

Balfour's
MSS.

The earl of Orkney, who was descended from a bastard son of James the fifth, continued still in prison, and was removed from the castle of Edinburgh to that of Dumbarton. His extravagancies had obliged him to mortgage his estate to one Sir John Arnot ; and James, by purchasing the mortgage, ordered the sheriff to

Rebellion,
trial, and
execution of
the earl of
Orkney.

A D. 1613. take possession of the earldom and its castles. The earl, tho' a prisoner, storned at this proceeding, and gave a commission to his bastard son, Robert Stuart, to retake the castles, which he accordingly did, and stood in open rebellion against the royal authority. A commission for reducing him was sent down to the earl of Caithness, who besieged and took the castle of Kirkwall, and sent Stuart with his chief accomplices prisoners to Edinburgh, where they were tried and hanged as traitors. The unquiet spirit of the earl rendered it necessary to proceed against him in the like manner; and being brought to Edinburgh, he was there solemnly tried, condemned, and beheaded.

1614.
Ogilvie the
Jesuit tried
and execut-
ed.

The Jesuits renewing their practices against the government, one Ogilvie of that order was apprehended at Glasgow; and by some books and papers found about him, the privy council inclined to proceed against him by torture, as he refused to make any confession; and actually administered a species of it to him, by keeping him from sleeping. James, on account of his function, ordered that, if nothing but his acting as a popish priest could be proved against him, he should only be banished the kingdom, not to return under pain of death. He added, that if he was found guilty of seditious practices, or to maintain opinions in favour of the pope's temporal power, and derogatory to the royal authority, he should be proceeded against capitally; and he transmitted, at the same time, certain

A. D. 1614.

certain interrogatories on those heads, upon which he was to be examined. The care of his examination was committed to archbishop Spotswood, who found him, with regard to his principles of the pope's power over temporal sovereigns, one of the most desperate, and dangerous of all the sons of Loyola. Being brought to his trial, he treated the king's authority, and that of the legislature in general, in the most contemptuous and scurrilous manner, and disowned the jurisdiction of the court. The more he was indulged in making his defence, the more outrageous he grew, and the more strongly did he avow his sentiments concerning the lawfulness of disowning any king who did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the pope of Rome. In short, his behaviour and temper qualified him to be a second Ravillac; and being found guilty, he was hanged the very afternoon of his trial on the streets of Glasgow.

1615.
Somerset's
authority
declines.

The archbishoprick of St. Andrew's falling vacant at this time, was conferred upon Spotswood, archbishop of Glasgow. I have often mentioned that prelate in the course of this history, but there is a plain reason for sometimes distrusting him in his relations of ecclesiastical affairs. His moderation and caution was, however, very useful at this juncture, when the minds of the Scots were much soured by the restoration of episcopacy in its full vigour,

A. D. 1615. vigour, the decay of their trade, and the residence of their king in England. The earl of Northampton, who had succeeded to great part of Salisbury's power, was now dead ; and James, blinded as he was by his affection for Somerset, easily perceived that he was far from being equal to the post of his first minister : he, therefore, gave the treasurer's staff to the earl of Suffolk, who was Northampton's nephew, and father to the countess of Somerset. James, his queen, and court, were so immersed in pleasure, that they took little or no concern in the affairs of government ; and Suffolk's head being almost as insignificant as that of his son-in-law, their enemies intrigued so well that they got possession of the courts of law, about the time that James began to be tired of his favourite, and had consented to give him and his wife up to public justice, for the shocking murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower of London, by poison. Sir Edward Coke was made lord-chief-justice of the King's-bench, Sir Henry Hobart of the Common-Pleas ; Sir Francis Bacon was made attorney-general, and Sir Henry Yelverton solicitor-general. Somerset, though Overbury's murder made a great noise, still trusted in the royal protection ; and being lord chamberlain, his insolence was so great, that the queen herself and the archbishop of Canterbury joined together in contriving his destruction.

The

A. D. 1615.

The archbishop hated Somerset, because he knew he was popishly inclined; and the queen, because she thought he had too much power over James. Sir Ralph Winwood about the same time was made secretary of state; and having obtained proofs sufficient to convict Somerset of Overbury's murder, he entered into all the measures for the ruin of the favourite. Such was the state of affairs in England, when animosities and public differences were carried to such a degree in Scotland, that not only the open streets, but the courts of justice, and places of worship, became scenes of riot and bloodshed. James being informed of this, sent down a new set of instructions to his privy-council in Scotland, some of whom were Englishmen, ordering "that their number should not exceed thirty, and seven at least should be present in every meeting. That at their admission, they should take the oath of allegiance, and swear fidelity and secrecy in matters to be communicated unto them. That they should convene twice in the week; once every Tuesday for matters of state, and once on the Thursday for actions. That none should be permitted to stay within the council-house, but the lords and clerks of the council; nor any solicitations should be made within the house, but that all should take their places at their coming in, and none stand up, unless they be to answer for themselves, and in that case

Regulations for the Scotch privy-council.

A. D. 1615. case to rise, and stand at the head of the table. That four days absence of any counsellor in the time of sitting, without licence from the rest, should infer the loss of their place; That if any of the number was denounced rebels, or did not, at least, once in the year communicate, they should likewise be excluded. That wheresoever they remained, or happened to come, if they should be informed of any trouble like to arise betwixt parties, they should charge them to keep the peace; and if they refused, they should command them to enter in a ward, the disobedience whereof should be punished as if the whole council were disobeyed. Lastly, to keep their persons and places in the greater respect, they were commanded in the streets either to ride with foot-cloths, or in coaches, but none to be seen walking on foot."

With those directions, a command was given "to inhibit, by proclamation, any persons to bear quarrel to another, with intention of private revenge, requiring those that should happen to be in any sort injured, to complain to the ordinary judge within the space of forty days after the injury committed, and insist for justice; wherein if they should fail, and yet be perceived to carry a grudge towards him by whom they were injured, they should be called before the council; and if they refused to reconcile, be punished as despisers of the royal

royal authority, and violators of the public peace." A. D. 1673.

Those regulations, though calculated to enforce the law, seemed to have had but little weight in the more uncivilized parts of the kingdom. The M'Gregors were still rebelling, notwithstanding all the severities inflicted upon them. The northern and western seas swarmed with pirates, who were relieved, encouraged, and protected by the petty lords of the isles and coast there. Balfour, in his manuscript, has given us a detail of most horrid murders committed at the same time in the inland parts of Scotland; nor were they checked by the severe punishment of the criminals. He mentions, particularly, three ladies of the name of Etikine, who lost their heads at Edinburgh, for poisoning one of their kinswomen. James was at the expence of fitting out four ships, which were sent against the pirates, but with very indifferent success, a few of them only being taken. Those disorders encouraged the marquis of Huntley, notwithstanding his seeming compliance with the national religion, to prohibit his tenants and dependents from attending the established church. He was for this committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, by authority of the high-commission court, but though his excommunication had never been formally taken off, he was in a few

Miserable
state of that
country.

VOL. IX. M days

A. D. 1615. days releas'd by an order from the chancellor, by advice of the privy-council.

The members of the high-commission, and the clergy in general, complain'd loudly of the chancellor daring to supersede their authority in favour of so notorious an offender, and discharged the most intemperate language from the pulpit on that account. The chancellor, on the other hand, maintained the powers which he and the council had to discharge the warrant of the high-commission; and the bishop of Caithness was sent up from the clergy with a complaint against him to his majesty. It is greatly to the chancellor's honour, that though he had been often obnoxious to James, who more than once order'd him not to approach his court or presence, yet he was still continu'd in his high office, and exercis'd it with as high a hand as any of his predecessors had ever done. James was under some difficulties how to proceed. He was no stranger to the intemperate zeal and ambition of the clergy; but he thought himself bound to maintain the authority of his high-commission. In the mean while, he heard that the marquis of Huntley was arriv'd at Huntington in his way to London, to plead his own cause against the clergy. James sent Hamilton, his under-secretary for Scotland, to order Huntley to return to Edinburgh, without proceeding further.

ther, That nobleman being well acquainted with the disposition of James, made so many submissions, and promised so fairly to submit to whatever his majesty should enjoin, that James gave him leave to come to court, where he consigned him to the conversation of the archbishop of Canterbury. Huntley seemed to be all compliance, and offered to communicate with his grace; but this was found to be irregular, on account of his examination. James, proud of so illustrious a convert, prevailed with the bishop of Caithness, Huntley's adversary, to absolve the marquis in the name of the church of Scotland; which being deemed sufficient, he was admitted to the communion of the church of England, and received absolution from the archbishop of Canterbury.

Huntley absolved from his excommunication.

Though both James and the archbishop wrote letters to the archbishop of St. Andrew's, giving their reasons for absolving the marquis, yet they were far from being satisfactory to the body of the clergy. It was therefore resolved, "That the marquis, who was now returned from court, should present a supplication to the general assembly, that was to meet at Aberdeen, August the thirteenth, acknowledging his offence, in despising the admonitions of the church, and promising to continue in the profession of the truth, and to educate his children in the same; and that upon this supplication, he was to be of new

Spotiswood.

A.D. 1615. absolved, according to the form used in the church of Scotland." This absolution was accordingly performed with great solemnity, the earl of Montrose being the royal commissioner. Thus ended the difficulties which James met with in converting the marquis, for whose person and family he had the greatest regard. He spared no pains in breeding the lord Gordon, the marquis's eldest son, in the protestant religion; for he sent for him to court, kept him about his own person, and made him one of the knights of the Bath, when prince Henry was created prince of Wales. The executions of Sir Gervase Elways, and others, who were concerned in Overbury's murder, had rendered Somerset and his counsellors so obnoxious to the public of England, that even the privy-counsellors refused to act where he was concerned in matters of government. He had, of late, negotiated a match between the prince of Wales, and a princess of France. This transaction had been kept so secret, that it was not known in England, till Edmunds, the English ambassador at Paris, brought over the marriage-articles ready to be signed. The opposition which this measure met with at the council-board, convinced James that he must either break with his council, or part with his favourite. The delay which the execution of this resolve met with, renders it not improbable that Somerset was possessed of some secrets, that

Difficulties
of James.

that James was unwilling should be revealed ; A. D. 1615.
 and some after-circumstances give countenance
 to the conjecture. By this time, the profusion
 of James had exhausted all his resources for
 money. The sums he had gained by the sale
 of the royal timber, by loans, by benevolences,
 and lastly, by the creation of the new order of
 baronets, were all expended ; and he had now
 no prospect of raising more but by a parlia-
 ment. The bad humour the nation was in,
 deterred him from that thought ; but his ne-
 cessities obliged him to comply with that dis-
 agreeable measure.

Before the writs were issued, George Villiers,
 a younger son of Sir George Villiers of Lei-
 cesterhire, was introduced to court. It is not
 to the honour of James, that this expedient
 was found necessary for displacing Somerset,
 though he was at this time fully convinced
 that he and his countess were the authors of
 Overbury's murder. Soon after the rising of
 the English parliament, where the prerogative
 of James met with great opposition, the king
 of Denmark, brother to the queen, arrived
 in England, where he was splendidly enter-
 tained by James, whose mediation had pro-
 cured him an advantageous peace with Swe-
 den. It was thought that his sister made use
 of his influence to ruin Somerset with James ;
 but her principal agent for convicting the fa-
 vourite was Winwood, who had discovered
 the

Introduc-
 tion of Vil-
 liers to
 court.

A. D. 1615. the whole affair of Overbury's being poisoned, from an apothecary's boy, who was concerned in the fact, and had fled to Flushing. Neither the queen, nor the archbishop of Canterbury, thought that the weight of this crime alone would be sufficient to ruin Somerset in the affections of his master ; and the archbishop proposed to bring young Villiers forward to the notice of James, who had been already observed to eye him, though at a distance, with no unfavourable aspect. That intriguing princess was determined, at all events, to ruin Somerset ; but flattering herself with the hopes of succeeding to his influence with James, she was not easily brought to consent to the introduction of Villiers. He was no more than twenty-one years of age. He had travelled abroad, and was thought to be the handsomest young man in Europe. His courtly accomplishments in dancing, fencing, and other exercises, were answerable to his figure ; and the queen was apprehensive that he might succeed Somerset not only in his power, but in his insolence and engrossment of the royal favour. She had been at some pains to converse with young Villiers ; and as she was a perfect judge of her husband's disposition, she found that he far exceeded Somerset in all the accomplishments that could captivate and fix the royal favour. The solicitations of the archbishop, however, and her abhorrence of Somerset, at last

A. D. 1615.

last conquered her reluctance; but with this prophetic speech to the archbishop, which we have from his own narrative: "My lord, you and the rest of your friends know not what you do: I know your master better than you all; for if this young man be once brought in, the first persons that he will plague must be you that labour for him; yea, I shall have my part also; the king will teach him to despise, and hardly entreat (treat) us all, that he may seem to be beholden to none but himself."

It was easy for the queen, (for whose recommendation James professed the highest regard) after her resolution was fixed, to prevail in her suit, which James was so well inclined to grant.

James gives way to the ruin of Somerset,

At her sollicitation, James instantly sent for Villiers, knighted him with the prince of Wales's sword, and ordered him to be sworn a gentleman of his bed-chamber. Before this, James had his reasons to order a pardon for Somerset to pass the great seal, containing the following clause: "That the king, out of his mere motion and special favour, did pardon all, and all manner of treasons, misprisons of treasons, murders, felonies, and outrages whatsoever, by the said Robert earl of Somerset committed, or hereafter to be committed."

The chancellor refused to put the great seal to so illegal a pardon, which he shewed to the queen; and while that affair was in agitation, the proofs of Somerset's guilt became so evident,

A. D. 1615. dent, that he was detested even by James himself; and he privately gave orders for the lord chief-justice Coke to make out a warrant for apprehending him, which was executed in the presence of James himself, even while he was caressing his favourite, so deep did he carry his dissimulation. It belongs to the English history to relate the particulars of Somerset's and his wife's trial and conviction. Nothing could be more plainly made out than their guilt was, by the confessions of the other criminals, who were executed on the same account, and other evidences. It is sufficient to say, that Somerset behaved as if James durst not proceed to extremities with him; and it is but too plain that he had some reason for that opinion. James opened his difficulties to his new favourite, young Villiers, whose open generous manners had rendered him as acceptable at court, as Somerset had been disagreeable; and Villiers found a ready tool in the person of Sir Francis Bacon, the attorney-general, who already considered him as the sole favourite. The secret instructions given to Bacon were, that he should manage so as to bring Somerset to confess his guilt, upon promise of pardon, without bringing him to a trial.

who, with his countess, is condemned for Overbury's murder.

Commissioners were appointed to examine him; but he refused to make any confession, though his wife made an ample one. One circumstance,

A. D. 1615.

circumstance, which appears from Bacon's letters, is favourable to the memory of James, with regard to the charge of his being in the secret of his son's immature death. "We made, (says Bacon) this further observation, that when we asked him some question that did touch the prince, or some foreign practice, (which we did very sparingly at this time) yet he grew a little stirred." Though this passage does not clear Somerset from being concerned in the prince's death, yet it cannot be imagined, that, had James been conscious of any confederacy with him in that affair, he would have suffered Bacon, who had the management of the trial, to question Somerset on that head, in presence of the other commissioners. It may be said, indeed, that some of the commissioners might have done it without Bacon's concurrence, but that is unlikely; for he was too great a politician, and too good a courtier, to suffer such a question to be put, without the express command of James. I am likewise to observe, that Somerset, on his trial, gave up many advantages that he might have taken; and that the proofs brought against him were not sufficient to convict him. This, however, might be owing to Bacon's art, who knew how disagreeable it would be to James to produce stronger evidence. When he had received sentence of death, he wrote a letter to James, of which great advantage has been

A. D. 1615. taken, though I think very unjustly, by the enemies to the memory of that prince.

1616.
James re-
solves to vi-
sit Scotland.

The change of the favourite in England did not greatly affect the affairs of Scotland. The earl of Argyle acted with great success against the rebel islanders. Some attempts were made for improving the whale-fishery on the coasts; and several honours and titles were bestowed. The earl of Mar was offered by James the place of commissioner, or rather viceroy, of Scotland, with appointments that might enable him to keep up the face of a court, somewhat to console the people for their king's absence. This proposal coming to the chancellor's knowledge, he made strong remonstrances against it. He said, that by his post no subject ought to be his superior in Scotland; and he convinced the earl so effectually of the danger that must attend such a post, that he refused it, but accepted that of treasurer; and Sir Gideon Murray was continued in the place he held under his predecessor.

His letter
on that
head.

James having received a large sum of money from the Dutch for delivering up their cautionary towns, now entertained thoughts of visiting his antient kingdom of Scotland, which, as he said in a letter that he sent to the privy-council on the occasion, proceeded from "a salmon-like instinct (as he was pleased to call it); and because he knew that evil-disposed persons would disperse rumours, as if he came
to

A.D. 1616.

to make alterations in the civil and ecclesiastical estate, he commanded proclamation to be made for certifying the subjects of the contrary: It was true, he said, that he desired to do some good at his coming, and to have abuses reformed both in the church and commonwealth; yet foreseeing the impediments that his good intentions would meet with, and regarding the love of his people no less than their benefit, he would be loth to give them any discontent; and therefore willed all his good subjects to lay aside their jealousies, and accommodate themselves in the best sort they could for his receiving, and the entertainment of the noblemen of England, who were to accompany him in the journey." The government party in Scotland would have gladly excused themselves from the honour intended them by his majesty, but did not think proper to oppose his journey; and he repeated his orders, which were proclaimed through all the market towns in Scotland, for getting every thing ready for his reception, and for shewing all proper respect to the English noblemen and gentlemen who were to attend him, so that nothing might be wanting for their entertainment. The Dutch money enabled him to make most magnificent preparations for his journey; and the parliament, which was then sitting in Scotland, contributed its share by a large taxation. He had sent a letter, ordering his cha-

James visits
Scotland

A.D. 1616.

1617.

pel to be repaired ; and some English carpenters were employed to erect statues of the apostles in the stalls or pews. This gave such offence, that the archbishop of St. Andrew's himself, with other prelates and clergymen, joined in a letter against the erections, in which they represented to James, that after the introduction of organs and images, nothing but the mass itself could be wanting to complete the restoration of popery in the kingdom. Though James was greatly displeased with this representation, and insisted, in the answer he returned, on its being perfectly innocent and decent, yet he ordered the work to be discontinued, on pretence that it could not be done so quickly as was first appointed. I perceive, that in April, this year, the queen appointed a council, consisting of eleven persons, the lord-chancellor of Scotland being the president, for receiving and managing her rents in that kingdom.

His proceedings there.

James arrived at Berwick in the beginning of May ; and the Scotch parliament was prorogued to the thirteenth of June, the intermediate time being spent by his majesty in making a most stately progress through the chief burghs and towns in his kingdom. When the parliament met, some of the members did not pay the deference to James that he expected. Several of the nobility, whom he had recommended as proper persons to be lords of the

the

A. D. 1617.

the articles, were set aside; and some opposition was made to the admittance of any officers of state, excepting the chancellor, treasurer, and clerk of the rolls. This objection, however, was over-ruled. One of the great ends of this parliament was to bring the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland to a farther conformity with that of England. It was proposed, that whatever conclusion was taken by his majesty, with advice of the archbishops and bishops, in matters of external policy, the same should have the power and strength of an ecclesiastical law. This proposal met with vast opposition, even from the bishops themselves; and according to Calderwood, the complexion of the parliament was so displeasing to the king, that he was upon the point of dissolving it. At last, after many debates, it was agreed, "That whatsoever his majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the strength of a law." This article threw the violent part of the clergy into a flame, and several of them were deprived of their livings. Calderwood, the historian, was among the most forward of the protesters against the article; and James, after personally examining him, and finding him very firm, had the meanness to order Spotswood to tell him, that if he was not content to be suspended spi-

P. 675.

A. D. 1617. spiritually, he should be suspended corporally. The result was, that Calderwood was deprived of his living; and committed close prisoner to the jail of St. Andrew's; the archbishop threatening that he should suffer the fate of Ogilvie the Jesuit. Calderwood was afterwards banished.

During the residence of James in Scotland, he was at great pains to press a conformity of their ecclesiastical worship with that of England. He obliged his noblemen to take the sacrament after the English manner, kneeling. He introduced an organ, a choir, and all the pomp of church music and ceremonies, into his own chapel, and even gave liberty for abbots (that is, such of the protestant clergy on whom abbeys had been conferred) to sit in parliament, in the same manner as they had done in the times of popery. Most of those abbeys, however, were now converted into temporal hereditary lordships, which rendered their owners lords of parliament. Before the return of James from Scotland, he took all opportunities of haranguing his people, even in church; especially on the subject of a strict conformity with the worship of the church of England. He could not, however, succeed in abrogating the authority of the general assembly of the church, where the bishops had no decisive vote. With great difficulty he gave way to the meeting of an assembly; but all they could be brought to
consent

consent to, was to accept of an article, That private communion might be administered ; and that the clergy should give the elements of the sacrament out of their own hands to the communicants. As to the other articles of conformity to the church of England, which James pretended he had a right to establish by virtue of his prerogative, particularly those relating to the observation of holidays, they were postponed.

Upon the whole, James had no reason to boast of the reception he met with in his native dominions. The chief benefit which resulted to them from his visit, was the establishment, by act of parliament, of justices of the peace and constables on the same footing as those in England. Though his court-chaplains (to use Calderwood's expression) rained flattery upon him from the pulpit ; yet he gained nothing in the establishment of his prerogative in ecclesiastical matters but by mere dint of persecution, fines, and imprisonments. The nobility and bishops seemed externally to be very compliant with his will : but I cannot perceive that they acted upon any principle but that of preferment, or according to their consciences. Even by Spotswood's own account, they obeyed the boisterous commands of James with reluctance ; and his unhappy son fatally experienced that they thought themselves discharged from all servitude imposed upon them by the mere force

A.D. 1617.

He returns to England.

A. D. 1617. force of prerogative. The common people, who judge by the evidence of their senses, discovered a spirit little short of rebellion, on the alterations which they saw introduced into their religious worship, and the farther innovations which by the instigation of the preachers they apprehended. Such was the state of Scotland when James left it and returned to London, by the way of Carlisle, where he arrived on the fourth of August.

**He favours
popery.**

During the absence of James in Scotland, Villiers (who had been created earl of Buckingham) governed with a very high hand in England. He had raised his creature Bacon to the high place of chancellor. His mother, who was a papist, was made countess by the same title in her own right. As she had as much power over her son as he had over James, we cannot wonder at the encouragement which popery met with, even by the royal example. The hatred of James towards the puritans arose next to madness, and produced the famous book of Sports, by which the religious observation of Sunday was, in some measure, condemned by the royal authority; and James finding that the observation of holidays stuck with the Scotch clergy, enforced it by his proclamation over the cross of Edinburgh; and all the business of his high-commission court was the persecution of the refractory clergy. By the management of the bishops, however, at last, the

the five articles, as they were called, passed A. D. 1617 through the assembly. The first enjoined kneeling at the sacrament; the second admitted of private communion; the third of private baptism; the fourth commanded that children should be confirmed; and the last enjoined the observation of certain holidays.

Though the history of Scotland at this time, 1618. is little more than that of the church, yet I cannot omit the mention of the following horrid fact, which we have from Sir James Balfour. MSS. "One Mr. Thomas Ross, a brother of the house of Cragie in Perthshire, had affixed a paper, containing certain theses or positions which were thought to be opprobrious to his native country of Scotland, upon a church-door in Oxford, offering them to be publicly disputed. For this offence, upon his return to Scotland, he was condemned by the justice-general there to lose his head, which was to be set upon the jail of Edinburgh; and the sentence was executed in two days after." Barbarous execution.

Though the five articles, as we have already seen, had passed the general assembly, yet no regard was paid to them by the people, who, very truly, considered them as obtained through the management of the archbishop of St. Andrew's and other prelates, and the corruption of the members, who expected to be rewarded with church-preferments for their compliance. Ecclesiastical differences continue. Notwithstanding all the fulminations of power,

A. D. 1618. the inhabitants of Edinburgh left their ministers to preach to empty churches; and the magistrates conniving at this disobedience, were complained of to the high-commission. Their
 1619. defence was, "That many of the ministers who had voted for the five articles, condemned their own conduct, and preached against them from their pulpits;" upon which the magistrates were dismissed with a gentle reprimand. It was about this time, that the brave Sir Walter Raleigh, through the ascendancy which the Spaniards had obtained over James, was beheaded at Westminster, after a long imprisonment, and being appointed commander in chief in an expedition to America. As to the particulars of his shameful fate, I must refer to the English history.

Unlimited
power of
Buckingham.

Macaulay's
Hist.

Death and
character of
the queen.

Buckingham now governed James with so absolute a sway, that the queen was obliged to apply through him to her husband for every little favour she had to ask. Nothing can give us a more just idea of the vulgarity of the court at this time, than the stile of the letters which have come to our hand, from the queen and James himself, to the favourite and others. She had adopted all that coarse homeliness of stile which James called frank and natural; but she was this year seized with a dropsy, which carried her off in the following March. I have already touched upon her character, which was that of an artful, intriguing, unprincipled woman,

A. D. 1619.

man. She made herself easy under those failings of James which she could not correct; and she generally formed little parties in his court, whom she privately instructed how to manage her husband. Some of her letters, and the prophetic speech she made to the archbishop of Canterbury about Buckingham, discover her to have been a woman of sense; and notwithstanding her low compliances with James's humours, she had very high ideas of the regal dignity. Those broke out the very day after her daughter's marriage with the Prince Palatine, as it were involuntarily; for she saluted the princess by the name of Good Woman Palsgrave. Buckingham knew her genius for intrigue so well, that he always treated her with respect and complaisance. She had a purse, and a court, separate from that of the king; but how she disposed of her money, which must have been pretty considerable, does not plainly appear. We may, however, suppose that she was liberal to her brother and his family; for there was a remarkable good correspondence between him and James, which was of great benefit to the English commerce during their mutual lives. She died at Somerset (then called Denmark) house in the Strand. It may be proper here to touch upon the affairs of Germany, which were attended by the most interesting consequences to Scotland. The archduke Matthias, brother to the emperor Rodolph, had by the interest of the Hun-

Affairs of
Germany,

garian

A. D. 1619. garian protestants been elected king of Hungary; and he would have seized the crown of Bohemia likewise, at the instigation of the natives, had not the princes of Germany forced the two brothers to a compromise. Upon the return of Matthias to Hungary, the emperor would have severely revenged himself upon the Bohemians, had they not resolutely stood upon their defence, and obliged him to confirm all their civil and religious privileges. When Rodolph died, Matthias succeeded to the imperial crown, and the protestants promised to themselves the most grateful returns from him, as he owed all his greatness to their friendship. The Bohemians were particularly sanguine in their expectations; but they were deceived. Matthias was now above all constraint, and relapsed into that religious bigotry which has always distinguished the house of Austria. He declared his cousin-german archduke Ferdinand, king of Bohemia; but during the emperor's life time, the administration was vested in a council composed of priests, jesuits, and other instruments of papal and civil despotism. The princes of the German branch of the house of Austria being thus united, were offered by Spain the assistance of the archduke Albert's army in the Low Countries, to exterminate protestantism, if possible, in the empire.

where the
Bohemians
take arms
against the
emperor,

When the Bohemians found the miserable condition to which they were reduced by the
newly

A.D. 1619.

newly erected council, and that they were upon the point of losing not only all their privileges but properties, they called, notwithstanding the imperial injunctions to the contrary, an assembly of their states, in which they drew up a very dutiful petition, representing their grievances, and praying for redress. They proceeded with this petition to the council-chamber, where they were treated as rebels and incendiaries; upon which they were so much exasperated, that they threw the president of the council and two of the most obnoxious members out of a window. They then drove the jesuits and suspected persons out of Bohemia, chose the count de la Tour for their head, and published a manifesto, repeating all their grievances, and the provocations they had suffered by the infractions of their privileges; but still offering to lay down their arms upon obtaining redress. Tho' their grievances and oppressions were of the most shocking kind, and far from being exaggerated, yet they produced only a counter-manifesto on the part of the emperor, commanding them, upon pain of treason, to lay down their arms; in which case, he offered them pardon for what was past. The Bohemians had too good reason to distrust the sincerity of the house of Austria, to consider this offer as any security for the future, and invited the princes of the Evangelical Union in Germany to take their

1620.

A. D. 1620. their part, while they entered into secret measures with the Elector Palatine for choosing him their king. Had James fallen heartily in with this scheme, as the princes of the Evangelical Union flattered themselves he would, Bohemia might have been at that time erected into a protestant kingdom under his son-in-law. But he was fascinated with the hopes of his son marrying the infanta of Spain; and weak enough to have scruples of conscience, whether it was lawful for the Bohemians to take arms against the house of Austria, and therefore he was far from encouraging the proposition.

*Misconduct
of James in
the affair of
the Palati-
nate.*

The engagements of the Elector Palatine were, however, too deep for him now to recede from his pretensions to the crown of Bohemia. Though the backwardness of James damped his ambition, it was revived by the spirit of the Bohemians, who promised to live and die with their new sovereign, the protestants of Hungary, and the prince of Anhalt. But the Palatine's reliance was upon the affections of the people of England, who almost unanimously declared in his favour. James upbraided him, after his being elected to the crown of Bohemia, with having acted disloyally and dishonourably, in accepting of an elective government, and for having reduced him to the disagreeable alternative of either abandoning the interest of his daughter's family, or the golden

golden prospects arising from his connections with Spain. Notwithstanding those ill-grounded apprehensions, James was obliged to fall in with the spirit of the English, and actually remitted some money to his son-in-law. Many councils were held to consider how to proceed; and Abbot archbishop of Canterbury was the most forward of all the board to persuade James to declare himself with vigour in favour of the Bohemians. The new queen of Bohemia herself was so keen for supporting her royal dignity, and the cause of liberty, that she declared to the archbishop that she would spend every jewel her mother left her, (which were deposited for her use in the Tower of London) rather than abandon her subjects. The archbishop's solicitations were seconded by the duke of Lenox, the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Pembroke, the Vere family, and the most respectable nobility of the kingdom. Their credit met with a counterpoise in the person of the favourite Buckingham. He knew how prejudicial war is to a first minister, who had nothing in view but to supply the expences, and sooth the affections, of his master. Without entering into the merits of either side, he knew pacific measures to be most agreeable to James; and he filled up the under departments of business with men who could boast of no other merit but that of being pliant to his will and direction.

A. D. 1620.

James, as usual, thought he would act most wisely by chusing a middle way; and he sent the earl of Doncaster to mediate an accommodation with the emperor. This ill-judged mediation proved fatal to the king of Bohemia's affairs, and had been advised by the Spanish ambassador at the court of England with that view. The emperor refused to give Doncaster an audience in quality of mediator; and this protracted the negotiation so much, that Spinola, the Spanish general in the Low Countries, had leisure to complete his levies; and the zeal of the protestant princes for the Bohemians began to abate. The Elector Palatine was put to the ban of the empire; and its execution was committed to the Elector of Saxony, a protestant prince, who entered Lusatia with twenty thousand men. The king of Poland overawed the Hungarians and Transylvanians under Bethlem Gabor, so that they were obliged to make a truce with the emperor; and even the protestants of Austria, whose cause was in common with that of the Bohemians, were forced to submit. James again had recourse to negotiations with the Spanish and Imperial courts, where his ambassadors, in his name, loudly condemned his son-in-law's conduct. Sir Henry Wotton was sent to the German princes to persuade them to declare in favour of the Bohemians; but his commission was so inconsistent with the other conduct of James, that

that it only exposed him and his master to their ridicule. A. D. 1620.

In the mean while, James was obliged so far to give way to the spirit of his subjects in favour of his son-in-law, that he suffered the earls of Oxford and Essex to raise a regiment of two thousand two hundred men, which was thought to be the finest Europe had ever seen, to march to their support, under the command of Sir Horace Vere. James, at the same time, promised that he would suffer two other regiments to be sent after them. No sooner was this gallant handful of English embarked, than Spinola began his march towards the Palatinate; and when the English arrived there, they found themselves commanded by the marquis of Anhalt. The king of Bohemia had unfortunately chosen that prince his general, in preference to the famous count Mansfeld; but he was so damped by the number of the English falling far short of his expectation, that the brave earls of Oxford and Essex could not persuade him to hazard a battle. The campaign thus passed over inactively and ingloriously; and the earls returned to England, leaving Vere in the Palatinate. It is foreign to this history to enter into the particulars of the next campaign, which ended so fatally for the king of Bohemia and his new subjects, who were defeated at the battle of Prague on the eighteenth of November, and eight thousand

The Bohemians defeated at the battle of Prague.

A.D. 1620. of them killed upon the spot. The king and queen of Bohemia were then at Prague, and narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands, being encumbered in their flight to Breslau by that treasure, which, had it been properly distributed, might have preserved their crown. The consequence was, that almost all the Palatinate fell into the hands of the imperialists, and then James held daily councils to consult how it might be recovered by force of arms; but it was now too late. The elector of Saxony continued in possession of Lusatia. Count Buquoy, the imperial general, acted in Bohemia; and the emperor declared that he would see the ban rigorously executed against the Elector Palatine. James called his parliament; but by his pedantic arbitrary behaviour, he defeated all his good intentions in favour of the Palatinate. He continued still to cultivate his ruinous correspondence with Spain; he pretended to establish a difference between his assisting his son-in-law as king of Bohemia, and as Elector Palatine; and reflected upon his son-in-law for accepting of the crown of Bohemia without his permission. The speech which James made at the opening of the parliament was such a medley of bullying and meanness, that it exposed him to the derision of the members. They laid all the misfortunes of the Palatinate upon the encouragement which papists met with at his

his court; and the usual struggle between the courtiers and the country party, whether grievances should take place of supplies, followed of course. The debates on this head are foreign to my history; and it is sufficient to say, that the commons promised to support James with their lives and fortunes, if it should be found that force was necessary for recovering the Palatinate.

James received those assurances with indifference and disgust, because, instead of producing an actual supply, they were attended with three petitions of grievances; one relating to commerce, the other to money, and another to stop the importation of iron ordnance to Spain. James, instead of granting the redress of those complaints, adjourned his parliament, ordered some of its members to the Tower for speaking too freely, boasted of his prerogative, and issued many ridiculous proclamations against the liberty of speech, and against reflecting upon the match with the infant, or the person of his Catholic majesty. The parliament and people disregarded those cautions and menaces so much, that in the next session they gave full vent to their indignation in very spirited petitions and memorials. These, with the ruined state of his affairs in England, and the despicable figure he made upon the continent, drove James almost to distraction; and the commons having en-

1621.
Dissent
between
James and
his parlia-
ment.

A. D. 1621. tered their protestation, asserting their liberty of speech, James tore it out of their journals with his own hand.

Behaviour
of the
Scotch in
the affair
of the Pa-
latinate.

I do not find that the people of Scotland took the same concern as the English did in the affair of the Palatinate. Numbers of them had served under the king of Denmark, and enlisted themselves under Gustavus Adolphus, who succeeded that prince as head of the protestant league. They were generally soldiers of fortune, and driven by necessity into foreign service; but to them Gustavus was chiefly indebted for his amazing victories and successes in the cause of liberty. This year collections were made in Scotland for the relief of the persecuted protestants in France; and beacons were erected on both sides the Forth for directing foreign ships trading in coals, which seems to have been the only commerce left to Scotland. The French court, however, being alarmed at the greatness of the house of Austria, were so complaisant to James as to shew some indulgence to the Scotch traders in France.

Balfour's
MSB.

Ibid.

A parlia-
ment meets
in Scotland.

In a parliament held on the fourth of August, at Edinburgh, where the marquis of Hamilton presided as the royal commissioner, the five articles of Perth I have already mentioned, were ratified, and many sumptuary laws were made to prevent the immoderate use of banquetting and prodigality in apparel. James had, before this,

this, demanded a voluntary contribution; but the nobility civilly evaded his demand, and advised him to apply to parliament. James refused to follow this advice, on pretext that all taxations fell heavy on the lower rank of people, and that they gave the nobles a handle for oppression. He therefore repeated his demand for a voluntary contribution; but it was received with such coldness by the nobility, the barons, and the burghs, that the council thought necessary to send the archbishop of St. Andrew's to London, to lay before James the disposition of the nation, and the necessity of his calling a parliament; which was accordingly indicted to sit at Edinburgh the first of June; but adjourned to the first of July. In the intermediate time one Stuart, who called himself lord Ochiltree, accused Sir Gideon Murray, the best and most faithful servant James had in Scotland, of malversation in his office, as deputy-treasurer. Murray happened then to be at the English court; and though he made it appear that the charge was spiteful and malicious, yet a faction was formed against him, who persuaded James to appoint a commission for trying him; which had such an effect upon his spirits, that he sickened and died soon after his return to Edinburgh.

The prudence of the marquis of Hamilton was such, as to bring the parliament into so excellent a temper, that a taxation of four hundred thousand

A. D. 1621.
Sept. 29.

A. D. 1615.

MSS.
His resolutions agree-
able to
James.

land pounds, (Scots, I suppose) the greatest, according to Balfour, that ever was granted in Scotland, was voted. This compliance in the parliament, and the ratification of the Perth articles, gave so much satisfaction to James, that he made use of the following remarkable expressions in a letter he wrote to the Scotch bishops: "That as they had to do with two sorts of enemies, papists and puritans, so they should go forward in action, both against the one and the other; that papistry was a disease of the mind, and puritanism of the brain, and the antidote of both a grave, settled, and well-ordered church, in the obedience of God and their king; whereof he willed them to be careful, and to use all means for reducing those that either of simplicity or wilfulness did err." In his letter directed to the council, he put them in mind of what he had written in his Basilicon Doron, "That he would have reformation begin at his own elbow, which he esteemed the privy-council and session with their members to be, as having their places and promotions by him. Therefore he commanded them, and everyone of that number, to conform themselves to the obedience of the orders of the church now established by law, which he trusted they would readily do; otherwise, if any counsellor or sessioner should refuse and make difficulty, he did assure them, that if within fourteen days before Christmas, they did not resolve

solve to conform themselves, they should lose their places in his service ; and if any advocate or clerk should not, at that time, obey, they should be suspended from the exercises of their offices, and their fees and casualties thereunto belonging, unto such time as they gave obedience." In the same letter he willed the council to take order, "That none should bear office in any burgh, nor be chosen sheriff, deputy, or clerk, but such as did conform themselves in all points to the said orders."

A. D. 1621.

But tho' those rigorous edicts were issued, they gave too much public offence for James to put them severely into execution. Some said that the marquis of Hamilton procured the acts to be passed under a promise that obedience to them should not be strictly performed; but Spotswood says, "That he only promised, if the members acquiesced, his majesty should not press any more change or alteration of that kind without their own consent." About this time died the chancellor, earl of Dumfermling. Having been bred at Rome, he had a warm side to popery, of which he was generally suspected, and sometimes accused. The public, however, received no prejudice from his private opinions in matters of religion ; nor can it be denied that he was a wise, vigilant magistrate, and maintained himself in his high post by his integrity alone. He was succeeded as chancellor by Sir George Hay, clerk-register.

1622.

Marquis of
Hamilton
censured.

A. D. 1522. register. After Dumfries's death, the public apprehensions of popery rather increased than diminished, and this drew a severe letter from James to the clergy of Scotland. He excused himself upon principles of state, for which he said he was accountable to none. The truth is, he continued to be infatuated with the hopes of the Spanish match; and, at the same time, of bringing the French protestants into a dependence upon himself. These were the reasons urged by his servants and ministers, who said that he could only succeed by relaxing the penal laws against papists. He had in England restricted all preaching to homilies, and had prohibited the clergy of all denominations to discuss any polemical parts of divinity from the pulpit: and this, in Scotland, was looked upon as a prelude to the introduction of the Roman catholic religion in all his dominions. James reprimanded his council very roughly for suffering such reports to go unpunished. But I am now to attend the prince of Wales in his celebrated journey to Spain; which I shall do with as much brevity as is consistent with the importance of the subject.

James had of late exasperated the English peerage so much, that they had petitioned him about their privileges, which he had wounded in giving foreign titles by creation precedence to the ancient nobility of England. Even his favourite Buckingham was ashamed of his insolence.

Arbitrary
conduct of
James.

dolence, and the ascendancy that Gondemar the Spanish ambassador had over all his conduct. James was no stranger to the unpopularity and contempt into which he had fallen, and sought to drown his own reflexions in intemperance, to the great scandal of the prince of Wales, and the virtuous part of the nation. Buckingham was no friend to the Spanish match; but his mother had been gained over by Gondemar's liberality, and persuaded her son to overcome any opposition that might come from the lord-keeper Williams, whom she had in her eye for a husband to herself. Digby, who had been long ambassador to the court of Spain, when last in England, had spoken favourably of its sincerity; for which he had been nobilitated. The lord Doncaster, who understood foreign affairs extremely well, was in France soliciting, though with very indifferent success, the cause of the Hugonots. The archbishop of Canterbury had still retained his weight at the council-board; and was a professed enemy of Spain; but he was now under a cloud for having accidentally killed a man while he was hunting. The marquis of Hamilton was in Scotland, and the seal of Arundel's mouth was shut, by his obtaining the place of earl-marshal of England, with a pension of two thousand pounds a year.

James, trusting to the great sums which he was in hopes of receiving by the Spanish match, and the vast encrease of his customs thro' the

A. D. 1622.

extended commerce of his subjects (which, to his honour, he had cultivated and protected) ruled with a higher hand than ever. He imprisoned and persecuted such of the nobility, members of parliament, and clergy, as had ventured to speak against the Spanish match; among whom were the most illustrious names in England, for learning and public virtue. He had trifled so egregiously in his engagements with the parliament, that his son-in-law's affairs seemed now to be irretrievable by the defeat of all his allies; and the only remedy he offered to apply to his misfortunes, was a farther indulgence, which amounted to a toleration of papists in England. He was so mean, that he made even a merit at the court of Spain of his having abandoned, nay, betrayed the interest of the prince Palatine; and of his having emptied all prisons in England of popish recusants, and filled them with puritans, and others who had spoken or preached against the match. He was still possessed of a violent notion, that if he could enter into a confidential correspondence with the pope, he could settle all differences between the churches of Rome and England. Gondemar, upon his return to Spain, finding that James had imparted this secret to his Holiness and his Catholic majesty, soon convinced them how chimerical such a project was; but that it might be useful to encourage it, in order to divert the attention of James from the affairs of the Palatinate.

James,

James, by this time, had sent one Gage to Rome, to solicit the pope for proper authorities to complete the Spanish match. It is foreign to my purpose to recount all the arts made use of by the courts of Rome and Spain to encourage James in his delusion, while they were determined to evade the consummation of the marriage. The terms required by the pope were very high in favour of the English Roman Catholics; and James, beginning to find he was abused, sent some smart instructions to Digby, now earl of Bristol, his ambassador at Madrid, which tended towards a rupture, in case he was longer trifled with; but pusillanimously countermanded them by the very next post. Upon the arrival of a courier at the court of Spain, with the terms upon which the pope was willing to give his consent to the match, they were transmitted to England, where they were most shamefully embraced, and even enlarged in favour of the Roman Catholics, both by James and his son. When this was known, James became contemptible even in sight of the Dutch; and he was insulted by his favourite Buckingham for his tameness and temporizing, which had involved him in such inextricable difficulties. The prince of Wales more decently deplored his father's situation, and was as fond, as James himself was, of the favourite.

A. D. 1612.

A character
of the prince
of Wales.

The prince was then about twenty-two years of age. His deportment was grave and serious; and if he had any vices or amours, they were concealed from the public. That he was possessed of all the execrable notions which his father entertained of despotism and kingly power, yet he was so far from being thought an enthusiast for the church of England, that in religious matters he blindly consulted Dr. Preston, who was at the head of the puritan party. He had fallen in with the fashionable reading of the times, that of romances; and perceiving the heaviness and uncertainty of negotiations, he and Buckingham contrived together the more than romantic scheme of travelling incognito into Spain, and of bringing his mistress from thence without farther formalities. When they imparted their project to James, it threw him into an agony; but they did not depart from their purpose. The prince urged (to make use of his own words), "That he saw his father's negotiation plainly deluded; matters of religion gained upon and extorted; his sister's cause more and more desperate; that this was the way to help things off or on; that in this particular delay was worse than a plain denial; and that, according to the usual proverb, a desperate disease must have a desperate remedy." James, at last, yielded; and the two adventurers set out, attended only by Sir Francis Cottington and Endymion Porter,

His journey
to Spain.Rot. Parl.
21 Jac. 1st.
Bymer.
vol. xvii,
p. 559.

ter, disguised with periwigs and false beards. In A. D. 1623. passing through France, the prince had a fight of his future spouse, and they arrived at Madrid on the tenth of March 1623. It would be equally foreign to my purpose as tiresome to my reader, to recount all the formalities and speeches made, use of by the king, queen, and ministers of Spain to their illustrious guests. Buckingham bluntly demanded of Olivarez, who was in Spain what he was in England, his master's first minister and favourite, "Whether that court would give the prince leave to marry the infanta, and upon what terms?" The Spaniard told him plainly, "That it was expected the prince would change his religion; that it was generally supposed he was come to Spain on that account." Buckingham in a positive imperious manner cut off all hopes of that kind. It has, however, been thought that the terms of compliance, with regard to religion, which both James and his son had agreed to, were such as had rendered the court of Spain sincere in their intentions that the match should be consummated. I can be by no means of that opinion, tho' it is plain they agreed to every thing but a full toleration of popery in England.

As this was not insisted upon in the first negotiation at Rome, James had sworn to the articles that had been agreed upon; but when the pope's dispensation arrived at Madrid, it

Difficulties
of the Spa-
nish match.

was

A. D 1623. was clogged with new terms; so that the prince was for departing abruptly, and leaving the negotiation unfinished. Being persuaded to stay for the return of a dispatch from England, he was told, in the intermediate time, by the bishop of Segovia, that the Catholic king expected an absolute toleration for the English Roman catholics, which the court of Spain well knew, if James should grant, must hazard his crown by a rebellion of his own subjects. By this time, the differences between Buckingham and Olivarez arose to such a height, that some talk was held in the Spanish council that both he and the prince should be put under an arrest; but the motion was rejected by the king, who had more virtue than his ministers. This happened at the time when James, having sworn to the terms, had boasted, that all the devils in hell could not break the match; and when the streets of London and Westminster were blazing with illuminations, on account of its being concluded. Buckingham was created a duke, and the seas were covered with ships carrying the English courtiers to the coasts of Spain.

Bristol's
complaints
of Buck-
ingham.

Fresh difficulties at Madrid still encreasing, the prince and Buckingham were contriving how to make their escape out of Spain, when they found they were prevented by the roads to the frontiers of France, and the sea-ports of Spain, being beset with troops to intercept them.

them. The death of the pope interposing, and the affair of the Palatinate, creating fresh obstacles as to the match, the prince thought his own person in such danger, that he ordered one Graham, a Scotchman, who was going to England, to inform his father, "That if his majesty should receive any advertisement that he was detained by that state as a prisoner, he would be pleased, for his sake, never to think on him any longer as a son, but to reflect with all his royal thoughts upon the good of his sister, and the safety of his own kingdoms." It is to this day uncertain in what manner the court of Spain would have proceeded, had the prince been intercepted in attempting his escape. I have reason to think that their intention was not to deprive him of his liberty, or to offer any violence to his person; but to attempt his conversion, which, from the concessions he had made, they thought to be very practicable; and to detach him from Buckingham, towards whom they would not, perhaps, have observed the same tenderness. The earl of Bristol, who knew the manners of the Spaniards extremely well, and was himself a man of state and formality, saw that they were terribly shocked by Buckingham's disrespectful behaviour, and the freedom of his manners, which cannot be so well described as in Bristol's own words in a letter to James. "Let your majesty

A. D. 1623.

Cahala,
P. 276.

jesty (says he) enquire of those that come out of Spain, who did give the first cause of falling out? Whether the complaints against the king of Spain be true, or no? Whether that foresaid king were not desirous to satisfy the desire of the prince his highness? Whether he did faithfully endeavour to effect the marriage? Whether the duke of Buckingham did not many things against the authority and reverence due to the most illustrious prince? Whether he was not wont to be sitting, whilst the prince stood, and was in presence, and also to have his feet resting upon another seat, after an indecent manner? Whether, when the prince was uncovered, whilst the queen and infants looked out at the windows, he uncovered his head or no? Whether, sitting at the table with the prince, he did not behave himself unreverently? Whether he were not wont to come into the prince's chamber, with his cloaths half on, so that the doors could not be opened to them that came to visit the prince from the king of Spain, the door-keepers refusing to go in for modesty sake? Whether he did not call the prince by ridiculous names? Whether he did not dishonour and profane the king's palace with base and contemptible women? Whether he did not divers obscene things, and used not immodest gesticulations and wanton tricks with players, in the presence of the prince? Whether he did not violate

late

late his faith given to the Condé-Olivarez? A. D. 1623.
 Whether he did not presently communicate his
 discontents, offences, and complaints, to the
 ambassadors of other princes? Whether, in
 doing of his business, he did not use frequent
 threatenings unto the Catholic king's minis-
 ters, and to the apostolical nuntio? Whether he
 did affect to sit at plays presented in the king's
 palace, after the manner and example of the
 king and prince, being not contented with
 the honour that is ordinarily given to the
 high-steward, or major-domo, of the king's
 house?

From the character of Buckingham, and his
 indecent familiarity with both his masters, we
 may easily conclude that all those questions
 admitted of affirmative answers. There is
 room, however, to believe, that the Spaniards
 were as fond of the prince as they were dis-
 gusted with his favourite. His behaviour was
 the reverse of that of Buckingham, and was
 entirely suited to the manners of Spain, which
 was one of the reasons given by that court for
 endeavouring to detain him at Madrid. Buck-
 ingham judged more truly than Bristol, who
 still pretended to James, that the indelicacy of
 his manners, and the affronts which he of-
 fered to the Spanish ministers, had prevented
 the success of the match. James, notwith-
 standing the clearest evidences to the con-
 trary, still thought it was practicable; and the

The match
 broken off,

A. D. 1623. Spanish embassadors made a strong impression upon his mind to Buckingham's prejudice. The latter was not insensible of this ; and it was no doubt an additional reason for his eagerness to return to England. James had even ordered the penal laws to be suspended against the papists, upon presumption that the match was concluded. " And for Scotland, (says he, in his declaration on that head) that his majesty, according to the constitution of his affairs there, and regard to the public good, and peace of that kingdom, and as soon as possible, will do all that shall be convenient for the accomplishment of his promise, in grace and favour of the Roman catholics, his subjects, conformable to the articles of the treaty of marriage."

Aug. 27.

The lord-keeper, Williams, who was now bishop of Lincoln, and a creature of Buckingham, strongly opposed this suspension of the penal laws against papists, and the admission into England of one Bishop, the titular bishop of Chalcedon, who was sent by the pope to exercise an episcopal authority over the English Roman catholics, in consequence of the king's concessions. It was with the greatest difficulty that James was, at last, made sensible of the Spanish artifices ; and sent an express order to Buckingham to bring the prince out of Spain, or to come away himself without him, if the prince's youthful follies should en-

gage

gave him to a longer stay. This was a most indecent message, as it insinuated that James, whatever became of his son, was impatient for the return of Buckingham. At the same time it gives us reason to believe, that the Spanish ambassadors, or Bristol, had filled James with notions that the prince was by no means averse to a longer residence at Madrid. It is certain that Olivarez upbraided Buckingham with having deceived his court into a belief that the prince would turn Roman catholic, and that Buckingham gave him the lie. This must have been fatal to the English minister, had it not been for the profound regard which the king and the nation of Spain entertained for their royal guest. Buckingham no sooner received his master's orders for his return, and understood that a squadron of English ships was arrived at St. Andero to carry him and the prince to England, than he left the court of Madrid, where he did not think his person was safe; and at parting with Olivarez, he said that he should always retain a deep sense of the civilities he had received from the royal family of Spain; but that to him (Olivarez) he should bear a perpetual enmity.

Though the prince had with great care and decency concealed his impatience to be gone, yet it was as great as that of Buckingham, who, notwithstanding all the blandishments of the Spanish court to detain him, soon set

and the
prince of
Wales re-
turns to
England.

A. D. 1624. out for Sir Anders, having left a proxy in the hands of the earl of Bristol. The conduct of the earl of Bristol was, all this while, very mysterious. It was, owing to his assurances that the Spaniards were sincere, that James had suffered the prince and Buckingham to undertake their hazardous journey. Bristol might have lost his head, had the infidelity of that court been discovered; and therefore it was his interest to vindicate its good faith, and to lay all the miscarriage of the negotiation upon Buckingham's roughness, and want of temper. The prince had himself gone as far in his compliances with popery as his conscience would suffer him, and perhaps farther than many other protestants would have done; but perceiving that he was imposed on, he laid Bristol under certain restrictions, as to the execution of his proxy, and embarking, arrived at Borthmouth on the fifth of October. James received him with great joy; and in a council held at Royston, it was determined that the whole negotiation was at an end, and that the proxy left by the prince was of no validity. James, at the same time, (as he had done all along) declared that the restitution of the Palatinate to his son-in-law was to be an indispensable preliminary to the Spanish match. When the pope's approbation arrived from Spain, it was clogged with certain additional conditions, which gave James no farther pro-

text

text for breaking off the match, as did the indecision and conduct of his Catholic majesty with regard to the Palatinate, and his reduction of the same which was to be given in portion with the infant. In short, James ordered the earl of Bristol to demand the restitution of the Palatinate; and if it was refused, to leave the court of Spain. This was an absurd instruction to Bristol, the Palatinate not being in possession of the Spaniards, who acted only as auxiliaries to the emperor. Thus an end was put to the Spanish match by James, who is said to have declared, that he never would marry his son with a portion of his only sister's tears.

A. D. 1623.

The French court having often complained that the antient treaties between France and Scotland had not been renewed; and that therefore they looked upon the Scotch nation in the same light as they did that of England; the lord Colvil was this year sent by the privy-council to consult with James how to establish the Scotch privileges in France, and particularly to revive the Scotch guard, according to his first institution, at that court. Colvil went from London to Paris, where I perceive he succeeded perfectly well in his negotiation. The guard was revived, and the lord Gordon was made its lieutenant-colonel under the duke of Lennox. About the same time, James instituted the order of knights baronets of Nova Scotia;

Balfour's
Annals.
Knights of
Nova Scotia
instituted.

A. D. 1623. Scotia; an honour which, like other baron-
 etages, was to be hereditary. They took
 their denomination from that part of North
 America which has been since called Nova
 Scotia, and which Sir William Alexander of
 Menstrie undertook to settle and cultivate with
 Scotchmen. Alexander being a lively specious
 gentleman, prevailed upon the earls of Mar-
 shal, Haddington, Nithsdale, and many other
 noblemen and gentlemen, to assist him in com-
 pleting the settlement; and each settler who
 advanced a certain sum of money, was en-
 titled to a portion of land, and the dignity of
 a baronet. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordons-
 town, is said to have been the first knight of
 Nova Scotia, and to have entered into a con-
 tract with Alexander, for sending over a
 number of planters, provided with all neces-
 saries, from the county of Sutherland. This
 year, commissioners were appointed in Scot-
 land for treating with the English concerning
 the disposal of wool not manufactured in Scot-
 land, and which the English complained was
 exported to other countries, to the great de-
 triment of their staple commodity. They
 therefore insisted upon their having the 'prefe-
 rence in buying all such wool. James seems
 to have had this affair greatly at heart; for the
 duke of Lenox, the marquis of Hamilton,
 with the earls of Kelly and Carlisle, were four
 of the commissioners. My author says, how-
 ever, that this treaty took little effect.

James was at this time in a very deplorable situation. He found himself outwitted not only in the affair of the marriage, but of the Palatinate. He durst not trust his son, whom he saw highly discontented; and he met only with reproaches from his insolent favourite. If we are to believe bishop Burnet, he had a private interview with Somerset, who now obtained a full pardon and his liberty, with a view of reinstating him in his former power and places; and the same author hints, that the discovery of this interview cost James his life. That James might be disgusted with Buckingham, I shall not dispute; but the interview is highly improbable. Weak as James was in matters of government, he could not but foresee, that if he distrusted either the prince or Buckingham, his recalling Somerset must have rendered them formidably popular. We have, besides, no kind of reason to believe, that the affection of James for Somerset was ever revived since his dismissal and trial. It is probable, however, that James intended some alteration in the ministerial departments. He had received privately from the marquis of Inriosa, the Spanish ambassador, a paper, intimating, that a conspiracy had been formed by the prince and duke to usurp the government, and to confine the king to one of his country-houses. Though this letter might be a state farce, yet it made such

A.D. 1623.
Miserable
situation of
James.

an

A. D. 1623. an impression upon James, that it altered the manner of his behaviour towards Buckingham.

The lord-keeper Williams becomes a favourite.

If James intended to displace Buckingham, we have the strongest reason to believe that he had thrown his eyes upon the lord-keeper Williams for his successor. He was a prelate of great political abilities, an excellent scholar, and a sound divine; but faithless, dissimbling, and ambitious. He had been raised by Buckingham; and during that favourite's absence in Spain, he had become a private favourite with James, who, unknown to Buckingham, had promised him the archbishopric of York. Upon the return of the prince, Williams had practised so upon James, that the latter was heard to wish that the prelate had supplied Buckingham's place in Spain; and he undoubtedly, about this time, had entered into some connections with the Spanish party for the ruin of Buckingham. The latter knew of those machinations, and resolved upon the ruin of Williams, in concert with the prince, and the bishop of St. David's, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. It was necessary for Buckingham, before he could succeed in this, to re-instate himself in the good graces of James. Encouraged by the prince, he abruptly entered the royal apartment, expressed his sorrow at the dejection so visible in the behaviour and countenance of James, but told him, that his

misfortune

Cobbe,
p. 13.

misfortune had happened which was not easily
 retrievable; if he would but throw himself
 upon his parliament, break off the Spanish
 match, recall his ambassadors from that court,
 and draw his sword for his distressed daughter
 and her family. James was reassured by this
 council into a gleam of comfort; and Buck-
 ingham in an instant destroyed all the nets
 which had been so artfully spread for his ruin
 by Williams and the Spaniards.

The parliament of England was to have met
 on the nineteenth of February; but James put
 off the opening of the session for one day, on
 account of the death of the duke of Lenox,
 who was found dead in his bed. In him, James
 lost an amiable companion and a faithful
 friend; but he was too wise and virtuous to
 fall in with the vices and levities of his royal
 kinsman. James, in pursuance of his fa-
 vourite's advice, opened the parliament with a
 speech which had an air of frankness towards
 his people, for he threw himself upon their af-
 fections for the means of recovering the Pala-
 tine, but referred to the prince and Buck-
 ingham for the particulars of the Spanish match
 and treaty. Buckingham acquitted himself
 so well, and such was the public odium of the
 Spaniards, that he became all on a sudden the
 favourite of the people. They extolled his
 gallant spirited behaviour in Spain; and Wil-
 liams seeing himself upon the point of ruin,

1624-
 Meeting of
 the English
 parliament.

Yet, I know,

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was

A.D. 1614. was forced to make him the most abject submissions. The commons entered so far into the quarrel, that they offered James three subsidies and three fifteenths, if he would break off all farther connections with Spain. He accordingly ordered his ambassador at Madrid to be recalled; but stopt the order from being dispatched, when he found that the parliament had come to some warm resolutions against the papists. In a day or two, the prince of Wales and the duke of Buckingham persuaded him to accept of the subsidies; and James writ a letter with his own hand, that there was now an end of treating between them either as to the marriage or the Palatinate. The archbishop of Canterbury having now emerged from the cloud he was under, was extremely useful in effecting those salutary purposes; and by his example and advice, notwithstanding all that James could do to divert them, the members of both houses resumed their measures, which were very severe against the popish recusants. This gave James so much pain, that the prince and the duke of Buckingham persuaded the archbishop of Canterbury, and the leading peers, to moderate their rigours, to which the house of commons, on account of the far advanced season of the year, consented; but with a resolution to resume them the very first opportunity.

The

A. D. 1624.
Power and
popularity
of Buck-
ingham.

The people of England, particularly at London, proclaimed the breaking off all treating between their king and his Catholic majesty, with bonfires, ringing of bells, and other extravagant demonstrations of joy. James, however, notwithstanding appearances, was still hankering after the Spanish match, which he thought would fill his coffers more quickly than could be done by the slow payment of the subsidies, as they were to be managed by receivers. He relapsed into his former jealousy of Buckingham, who, through the popularity he had acquired by the friendship of the prince of Wales, seemed to bid him defiance. Upon the arrival of Bristol from Spain, Buckingham had interest enough to procure his being confined to his own house, without being admitted to an audience of James, or to make his defence in parliament. Had he been heard there, and suffered to produce the evidences which he said he was ready to bring against Buckingham, who had still many secret enemies in both houses, James, who then disliked his favourite, would undoubtedly have taken part with Bristol, and have revived the Spanish treaties. He had, with the consent of the prince of Wales and Buckingham, sent the lord Kensington to treat of a marriage between the prince and the French king's sister Henrietta Maria. James, underhand, sent a dispatch to Kensington, desiring him not to be

A. D. 1634 over-forward in pushing the treaty; and he privately instructed Aston, his resident at Madrid, to remain in Spain, after Bristol had left it. Buckingham more than suspected those practices of James, and was determined to avail himself of his popularity, though, after all, its foundations were unnatural and temporary. He prosecuted the earl of Middlesex, lord-treasurer, the best financier, perhaps, England ever saw, for malversation in his office, and procured his being fined and imprisoned. James had violently opposed his prosecution, which was hurried on in parliament; but Buckingham stood on his own bottom, and the lord-treasurer narrowly escaped an attainder of blood.

James consults the lord-keeper.

James had now recourse to the lord-keeper Williams, in hopes that that prelate, by the assistance of Bristol, would have been able to have formed a party against Buckingham. But Williams found himself in danger of being ruined. He was accused in the house of commons of irregularity in his office of lord-keeper; but the charge was found to be frivolous, and therefore dropt. Another charge was brought against him for some words which had fallen from George Harriot, a Scotch jeweller; but it was found, upon enquiry, that his words, on account of his northern dialect, and the difference between the Scotch and the English money, had been misunderstood by

by the house; so that this prosecution was likewise set aside. Buckingham now considered the breach between him and James as being irreparable, and resolved, according to bishop Hacket, an upright and well-informed historian, upon a daring expedient, which was that of selling all the crown and church-lands, and converting them into ready money. James would have given way to the sale of the crown-lands, but it was disliked by the prince of Wales; and Williams urged such substantial reasons against it, that the design was laid aside. Buckingham did not so easily drop his project of selling the church-lands. He considered the nation of England as being in general inclined to puritanism, and chose Dr. Preston (who, though master of Emanuel College in Cambridge, was a puritan) as his bosom confident. He could not have pitched upon an abler counsellor.

Hacket's
Life of Wil-
liams, p.
190.

Preston was artful, bold, and close, and was considered by the presbyterians in Scotland, as well as, in England, as their leader. He encouraged Buckingham in his project, and laid before him the secret intelligence he held with both kingdoms, especially many of the chief nobility of Scotland. The latter, it is certain, at this time were extremely uneasy under the daily apprehensions of their being called upon to restore all the church-lands which had been granted by the crown, before James was of full

Desperate
project of
Bucking-
ham.

A.D. 1624. full age. Buckingham; thus thinking himself sure of the Scotch nobility, as well as of the English puritans, had the boldness to communicate his scheme to James, who privately opened it to Williams. It does not appear what share the prince of Wales, who was afterwards known to be an enthusiast for the church of England, had in this proposition. I am inclined to think that it was either not so wicked as Williams represented it to bishop Hacket, or that Buckingham found means to disguise it to the prince, by pretending that it was intended only as a resumption into the hands of the crown for a more equal distribution of ecclesiastical property. Whatever may be in this conjecture, Williams laid before Buckingham the dangerous consequences of such an alienation to himself, as well as to his master; so effectually, that the project was dropt.

The marriage treaty concluded.

The marriage treaty negotiated by Kensington, notwithstanding the counter-orders of James, was now so far advanced, through the secret influence of the prince of Wales and Buckingham, that James could no longer delay putting the last hand to the treaty, by naming the lords Carlisle and Kensington as his ambassadors at the French court. The latter, on the other hand, sent over the archbishop of Aubrun to negotiate with James some mitigation of the severities which had been lately

exercised upon the Roman catholics of A. D. 1624. gland. The prelate conducted himself with much art, that he won the confidence of not, and gained more than he had been expected to insist upon. Three secret articles, favourable for the English Roman catholics, were inserted in the marriage treaty; but toleration was granted them, and no church to be allowed to them in London. This marriage treaty was a measure that laid the foundation of cardinal Richlieu's future greatness. The reduction of the house of Austria was his favourite view; and when the pope's refusal informed him that his holiness made no difficulty of granting the dispensation, till ten terms could be obtained for the English Roman catholics, Richlieu told him plainly, that if farther objections were started, the marriage should be consummated without a dispensation. The pope intimidated by this menace, yielded it, notwithstanding all the opposition made by the Spaniards.

The marriage treaty being thus concluded, Richlieu, who was now considered as the first minister of France, and whose secret view was to keep in his own hands the balance between England and the house of Austria, began to exert the warmth he had shewn for the restitution of the Palatinate. Count Mansfeld was sent at the French court soliciting supplies, and the payment of a debt due to the Palatine house;

Richlieu's
politics.

A. D. 1624.

house; but not meeting with success, he came over to England, where he was joyfully received, and found preparations far advanced for the recovery of the Palatinate. Four fine regiments had been raised, and were sent over to Holland to act under prince Maurice, their colonels being the earls of Southampton, Oxford, Essex, and the lord Willoughby. Twelve thousand foot and two troops of horse were likewise raised in England, to act under count Mansfeld in Germany; but they were refused liberty to pass through France. Mansfeld was obliged, upon this, to sail for Zealand; and pestilential distempers breaking out in his ships, the English lost half their numbers by sickness, and the other half being too inconsiderable, the expedition came to nothing.

1625.
Sickness
and death
of James.

Such was the situation of public affairs, when the marquis of Hamilton died; and James no sooner heard of his death than he exclaimed, "If the branches are thus cut down, the stock cannot long stand;" alluding to the death of Lenox as well as Hamilton. His words were prophetic. James had contracted a bad habit of body by his injudiciously riding hard both before and after his drinking largely of sweet wines. He was, at last, in March seized with a disease, which his physicians pronounced to be a tertian ague; but a beneficial evacuation, by sweating under his arm-pit, being dried up, the most sagacious among them thought that the
stop-

stoppage indicated a decay of nature. It seems to be unquestionable that the medical attendance upon him was very irregular. The countess of Buckingham, mother to the duke, and some ladies, who had great faith in the practice of mountebanks, undertook to be his physicians. James was impatient under his illness, and insisted upon a plaster and posset-drink being administered to him, because they had done great service to Buckingham some time before, when labouring under the like distemper. When Buckingham was afterwards questioned in the house of commons upon the king's death, he alledged, that he had done all he could to dissuade James from taking any thing that was not prescribed to him by regular physicians; and that when James obstinately insisted upon the posset, he administered it with his own hands in their presence. Eglesham, who was one of the physicians, wrote a pamphlet to prove that James was actually poisoned; and says, that a plaster of mithridate was indeed made up by one Remington, but that another plaster, the composition of which none of the physicians knew, was administered. James certainly grew worse on taking those medicines; and upon the whole it appears, even from Buckingham's evidence, that great irregularities had been committed by those who attended him, while he was on his death-bed. Faintings, feverishness, thirst, ravings, and an intermitting

A. D. 1625. pulse, gave indications of his approaching dissolution. It does not appear that James had any suspicion of his being poisoned; if he had, he certainly would have imparted it to the archbishop of Canterbury, and Williams, who attended him in his last moments. Perhaps the truth is, that, as Laud conjectured, the physicians mistook his disease, which was really a gout, and that a wrong application of medicines had driven it from his feet to his vital parts. His preparations for death were calm and rational, and he met it with the greatest intrepidity. When the prince of Wales was admitted to his presence, he talked to him in a style suitable to the occasion. He desired him to love his future wife, but not her religion; and declaring that he died in that of the church of England, he expired with great composure on the twenty-seventh day of March, after reigning over England twenty-two years and three days, (his reign over Scotland being almost coeval with his life) and in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Laud's Diary, March 27.

James the sixth of Scotland, and first of England, may truly be said to have possessed power without dignity, learning without utility, craft without wisdom, and religion without morality. His failings were evidently owing to his being too early initiated in the intrigues of parties, who vied with each other to give him wrong notions of government, and to inspire him

him with a thorough hatred of all liberty, either civil or religious. Had he behaved upon his throne, and towards his subjects, as a plain country gentleman would have acted towards his tenants upon his private estate, without launching into the subtilties of controversy, or pretending to explore the depth of politics, he would have made a great figure on the theatre of the world. Before his accession to the throne of England, he discovered great talents for government in Scotland, notwithstanding the weak suspected part of his conduct. Modern writers have greatly exaggerated some of his failings. His pacific notions, though he carried them too far, were of infinite benefit to his dominions; and posterity has been ungrateful to his memory in not observing that he chalked out, and in many respects filled up, the great outlines of commerce, which have raised England to her present pitch of glory and greatness. He had great regard for his antient nobility, and seldom broke into the rules of justice in private cases. Though the death of Raleigh, and the circumstances attending it, stain the annals of his reign, yet it admits of many alleviations. It was, indeed, mean to sacrifice, as he certainly did, so great a man to the jealousy of Spain; but Raleigh undoubtedly violated the terms upon which he obtained the command in his last expedition, and the Spaniards had a right to demand his head. His

A. D. 1625.

His character.

A. D. 1625.

pusillanimity in the affair of the Palatinate is exclaimed against with great reason; but it was owing to vanity and perplexity of council, rather than to any settled intention to betray the liberties of Europe. James was weak enough to think that he could, by the force of his own eloquence, and by the instructions he gave his embassadors, surmount the greatest difficulties; and it has been observed, that he negotiated away in pomp and parade more money than would have bought the fee simple of the Palatinate, while he treated about its restitution.

It was the misfortune of James to adopt Elizabeth's arbitrary notions, and to attempt to carry them into practice. He did not consider how much the people of England under him were improved in their ideas of civil and religious liberty, when compared with those they entertained under the race of Tudor. He was not aware of the immense property which the Reformation had thrown into the scale of the crown, nor of the opportunities which Elizabeth and her father had of extending their prerogative by balancing parties among their subjects. Under James, the English, in general, were firm to the reformation of religion; and if they had a bias in that respect, it ran towards puritanism, rather than the established church. Even before Elizabeth's death, they had acquired extended ideas of government; and the many excellent writings on that head

that

that had been published both at home and abroad, had improved them so much, that we are apt to be surprized that a civil war did not break out under James, and that the spirit of rebellion reserved itself for the reign of his son. I have, in the course of the preceding history, taken notice of his prudence and dexterity in curbing and reforming the violent spirits of the Scots, which had so often proved fatal to his family; and it is doing him no more than justice when I say, that for some years before his accession to the crown of England, he laboured incessantly to abolish their ferocious manners, and to bring them into civilized habits of life.

James in his domestic and personal character was, perhaps, the most unamiable man in his dominions. His coarseness and vulgarity could not be credited, had we not so many instances of it under his own hand, and those of his favourites. It was not enough that he himself was guilty of those shocking familiarities, for he instructed his queen and companions in the same fulsome practices; so that nothing could be more indelicate than their conversation and behaviour. No apology can be made for his indecent attachments to Somerset and Buckingham; and though we are ignorant of particulars, those with the former partake of the most criminal complexion, especially when he pardoned him after he had put himself and his posterity under the most solemn maledictions,

if

A.D. 1625.

Balfour's
Annals.

if either he or they did, should Somerset be found guilty. "James was of a middling stature, (says a writer who knew him well, having long served him in a domestic capacity) more corpulent through his cloaths than in his body, yet fat enough; his cloaths ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted, for stiletto proof; his breeches in great plaits, and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the greatest reason of his quilted doublets. His eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger came in his presence, inasmuch as many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance. His beard was very thin. His tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him speak full in the mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup, on each side of his mouth. His skin was as soft as taffata sarfenet, which felt so, because he never washed his hands, only rubbed his fingers ends with the wet end of a napkin slightly. His legs were very weak, having had (as was thought) some foul play in his youth, or rather before he was born, that he was not able to stand at seven years of age. That weakness made him ever leaning on other mens shoulders. His walk was ever circular."

I have transcribed this character, because it is drawn from the life. The same author observes, that he was so constant in his apparel, that

that he never, by his good will, would change his cloaths till almost worn out to rags. He was so regular as to his diet and his habits, either in diversion or business, that an observing courtier used to say, "Were he asleep seven years, and then awakened, he would tell where the king every day had been, and every dish he had on his table." James was rather a political than a personal coward. Several adventures he met with in his youth prove that he was not destitute of courage; and the affronts he put up with in his regal capacity can be easily accounted for, by the excessive opinion he had of his own king-craft, (as he called it) and his aversion to any business that broke in upon his pleasure or diversions, or called for intense application. It is observed by the author I last quoted, that he naturally loved honest men, provided they were not over-active; but that his admiral, Sir Robert Mansel, was the only brave man for whom he had a grounded friendship, which was proof against the arts and enmity of Buckingham himself, and the court of Spain. He would rather part with a hundred pounds that was not in his own possession, than with twenty shillings which he had in his pocket. His passion hurried him often into indecent swearing, and sometimes into blasphemy. He affected the reputation of being crafty and cunning so much, that one of his courtiers wittily said, he believed him to be
the

A. D. 1625. the wisest fool in Christendom. He had great skill in couzening himself, by accepting of a thousand or ten thousand pounds for his privy-purse, to prevent ten times that sum being paid into his treasury by parties bargaining with his financiers. Sometimes, however, when he found himself egregiously duped, he would refuse to stand to his bargain. The reader will find in the preceding history the other parts of his character. His body was brought from Theobalds, where he died, to Westminster, where it lay in state at Denmark-house till it was interred.

CHARLES THE FIRST.

Accession of
Charles the
first to the
throne of
England.

THIS unhappy prince mounted the throne with great advantages. He was popular for the aversion he had discovered for the Spanish match, and even for his connections with France, because they tended to humble the house of Austria. He had nothing of that homely behaviour which rendered his father contemptible in the eyes of the public; and at the time of his accession, he was thought to be moderate in matters of religion, and even to be no enemy to the puritans; for he permitted Dr. Preston to have a seat in the coach which



CHARLES, I.

一、關於我國經濟建設之方針
（一）發展生產，繁榮經濟
（二）公私兼顧，勞資兩利
（三）統籌兼顧，適當安排
（四）自力更生，艰苦奋斗
（五）整頓風氣，提倡節約
（六）加強國防，保衛和平
（七）發展教育，提高文化
（八）改善生活，增加福利
（九）加強團結，共赴國難
（十）遵守法律，尊重人權
（十一）尊重知識，尊重人才
（十二）尊重勞動，尊重創造
（十三）尊重科學，尊重真理
（十四）尊重歷史，尊重傳統
（十五）尊重自然，尊重生態
（十六）尊重生命，尊重健康
（十七）尊重和平，尊重合作
（十八）尊重正義，尊重公平
（十九）尊重自由，尊重平等
（二十）尊重法治，尊重秩序
（二十一）尊重文明，尊重進步
（二十二）尊重文化，尊重藝術
（二十三）尊重科學，尊重技術
（二十四）尊重知識，尊重人才
（二十五）尊重勞動，尊重創造
（二十六）尊重科學，尊重真理
（二十七）尊重歷史，尊重傳統
（二十八）尊重自然，尊重生態
（二十九）尊重生命，尊重健康
（三十）尊重和平，尊重合作
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that carried himself and the duke of Buckingham from Theobalds to London, upon his father's death. His first business was to continue all officers of state and justice in their respective departments in Scotland, as well as in England. He ordered a general mourning, and that his palace and chapel of Holyrood-house should be hung with black cloth. His privy-counsellors hurried up to London to kiss his hands, and left the government of the kingdom with David lord Carnaigy till their return. Sir James Balfour mentions no fewer than six and twenty barons of the Scotch parliament, besides many other persons of great distinction from that kingdom, who assisted at the funeral of the late king. During their absence in England, the piracies of the Western islanders were revived; and Archibald lord Lorn was ordered to raise two thousand men to suppress them, and to guard the neighbouring counties; while two ships of war were fitted out against them by sea, commanded by the baron of Kilfyth; and those preparations seem to have had the desired effect.

Charles had a great advantage by standing well at the time of his accession with his chief nobility. This was owing to the spirit of independency and freedom which they saw rising in the house of commons, and which they considered as disrespectful and unfavourable to their dignity. They were not, how-

His situation at home and abroad.

A. D. 1623. ever, fond of taking any lead in the government, and generally confined themselves to their own departments at court; so that Charles found great difficulty in forming an active administration. Buckingham having resolved upon the ruin of the lord-keeper Williams, offered the great-seal to Preston, but he declined it; and Williams not only retained it, but preached the late king's funeral sermon. This was, in a great measure, owing to Buckingham's being at this time entirely engrossed by the magnificent preparations he was making to bring home the young queen, who had been espoused for Charles by the earls of Holland and Carlisle. Before Buckingham set out, twelve thousand men were immediately ordered to be raised for the service of the king and queen of Bohemia; and Buckingham entered into measures with the courts of Denmark and Sweden for raising twenty thousand men more. The barbarous cruelties committed by the Dutch against the English at Amboyna in the East Indies, had raised such a spirit in England against the Dutch, that they were omitted in Buckingham's plan for reducing the house of Austria, though both he and Charles lived in great friendship with the house of Orange.

**Desertful
manage-
ment of
Richieu.**

Richieu disliked the growing greatness of Buckingham, who now made the greatest figure of any subject in Europe. He went to France

A. D. 1645.

France attended by a royal navy; and his appearance there was far more magnificent than that court had ever beheld. He excelled the French themselves in taste, splendor, spirit, wit, and conversation; and the elegance of his figure was such, that it touched the heart of the beautiful young queen of France; nor was Buckingham himself insensible of her charms. As he was above all dissimulation, he took little care to make a secret of their mutual passion; and he narrowly escaped being assassinated on that account. He was so intent upon forming the great confederacy against the house of Austria, that he persuaded Charles to, more than, fulfil the secret engagements he had entered into in favour of popery. He ordered a pardon to be issued to twenty Romish priests, who had been imprisoned or convicted upon acts of parliament; and he sent a warrant to Williams to suspend all kind of penalties against the English Roman catholics. When Buckingham urged those favours to Richlieu, as motives for his entering into the views of Charles, he obtained no satisfaction, but was entertained with a continual round of pleasures and amusements. This trifling, and the jealousy of the French court, on account of his amour with that queen, ruffled him so much, that he became as great an enemy to Richlieu, as he had been to Olivarez. Having finished his commission in the most magnificent manner,

A. D. 1625. manner, he carried the queen over to England, and Charles met her at Dover. Before her leaving France, she received a set of instructions from her mother and Richlieu, which afterwards were productive of some disagreeable consequences between her and her husband. The marriage was consummated at Canterbury; and though the plague was then raging at London, the parliament assembled on the eighteenth of June at Westminster.

Barrenness
of the
Scotch his-
tory at this
time.

In the speech which Charles made at its opening, he asked for supplies to maintain his fleet and army; threw the blame of the war, if any, upon his people, who so loudly called for a dissolution of all connections with the house of Austria; and made a faint apology for the indulgences he had lately shewn to his Roman catholic subjects. The whole of this speech was a pitiful expedient in Charles to impose upon his people, as if they had quarrelled with Spain and not with popery; a religion which they hated equally in the house of Bourbon as that of Austria. The great men of which the English house of commons was then composed, quickly discovered, that the aversion of the minister lay against Spain, and not against her religion. They saw the compliances in favour of popery which Charles had made to the French, and that names and not principles were altered. As to the Scots, they seem, at this time, to have been quite satisfied

ted with their situation; and their history does not supply facts sufficient to distinguish one year from another. Their nobility were in hourly apprehensions of a general resumption of the tithes and church-lands; and Charles secretly purchased the abbey of Arbroath from the family of Hamilton, as he did the temporalities of the see of Glasgow from that of Lenox, to encrease the revenues of the two Scotch archbishoprics. The heads of those great families were too good subjects to complain of their being obliged to part with those valuable estates at an under rate; and many of the other Scotch nobility made their court to Charles, by surrendering the church-lands they held, for trifling considerations.

A. D. 1623.

1626.

The Scotch nation, in general, thought that their country and their religion were now in imminent danger, and secretly concerted measures for vindicating both. It was not sufficient for Charles to suspend the penal laws against the papists in England; but he gave ear to a most insolent demand made by the French court, of a squadron of English ships to assist in besieging the protestant town of Rochelle. His admiral, Pennington, scrupling to obey those orders, was put under arrest by the French; but he behaved so gallantly, that he brought his fleet back to England, and boldly justified what he had done. Buckingham had, by this time, conceived a dislike of the French;

Affairs of England.

but

A. D. 1626. but Charles very arbitrarily obliged Pennington to deliver up his ships to French commanders, though no Englishman, but one gunner, was found mean enough to serve on board an English ship under a French commission. The service itself was so unpopular, that it was pretended the ships were to be employed against Genoa; but the public was soon convinced that their object was Rochelle. The parliament, on account of the plague, was adjourned to Oxford, where the members made a collection of all the instances and cases in which popery and popish recusants had been favoured. Charles again upbraided them with not being liberal in support of their own war; and referred the state of affairs on the continent to lord Conway, secretary of state, and Sir John Coke. The former complained of the coldness of France, and the degeneracy of the Dutch in the cause of liberty. He observed, that the kings of Denmark and Sweden, and the protestant princes of Germany, were backward in furnishing their several quotas till they saw the English army in the field, which could not be effected under an expence of seven hundred thousand pounds a year, besides certain contributions that were to be paid to foreign powers; and that the king had already incurred a great debt, besides the expenditure of the subsidies that had been granted him in fitting out his fleet and army.

This

This speech made very little impression on the house of commons, where Buckingham had now lost all his credit, on account of the indulgences that had been shewn to popery. The members declared themselves in favour of the protestant cause; but they observed such mismanagement in public affairs, that they appointed a conference with the lords upon the state of the nation, previous to the grant of any subsidy. The conference accordingly took place, and religion was its principal object. Buckingham procured a very softening message from Charles; and endeavoured in a laboured speech, to vindicate his own conduct on that head. He then went through all the other articles of accusation against himself and the ministry, and endeavoured to vindicate both. But though his speech was plausible, and in many respects pertinent, yet the commons refused to grant any farther supply, though the sum demanded was no more than forty thousand pounds for the use of the navy. Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards the famous earl of Strafford, distinguished himself by speaking against Buckingham in this debate, by observing that the engagement of a former parliament did not bind the present. He feared "that the passing this precedent for so small a sum, was to take advantage of it for a greater thereafter; but though he was against present giving, yet he was most ready and willing to give

A.D. 1626.

A strong opposition formed against Buckingham.

A.D. 1626 give in due time." Sir Edward Coke improved upon Wentworth's speech; and inveighed so severely against Buckingham, who was lord high-admiral, for neglecting the protection of commerce, and suffering the English ships to be insulted by pirates, that the commons would have proceeded to impeach Buckingham; had not Charles sent a commission for dissolving the parliament.

Thus unhappily ended the first English parliament called by Charles the first. The opposition to his measures, or rather those of his minister, were conducted by a set of the ablest men that perhaps ever sat in any assembly, whether we respect their courage, their learning, their eloquence, or their political accomplishments. They did not agree, perhaps, ultimately in the same views; for some of them were certainly men of dangerous principles in government; and I am inclined to think, that even at this time they had formed connections with the disaffected party in Scotland, respecting the events which afterwards took place. No sooner was the parliament dissolved, than Buckingham resumed all the functions of a first minister; and at last, presuming upon his own importance, he took the great seal from Williams, whom he might have employed with great advantage to himself in the administration. Williams made several efforts to retain his place, but Buckingham was inexorable, and thereby lost the

who resumed his power as first minister.

the services of the ablest minister in England. A. D. 1626. Buckingham now stood by himself in a very undesirable situation. He was at war with Spain, and upon very bad terms with the French court. He was distrusted by the protestants, and had no dependence but upon the affections of Charles, which he was afraid might be warped by the blandishments of his beautiful queen. He once more had recourse to popular measures, and gave way to severities against the Roman catholics in England. The French party complained of this, as a breach of friendship with his most Christian majesty; but Buckingham treated their minister, Blainville, at the court of England so roughly, that his wife petitioned the French king, though without effect, that the English ambassador should be imprisoned for satisfaction of her husband's injuries.

At last, the difference between the queen and Buckingham arose to so open a breach, that he had the insolence to tell her, upon a frivolous dispute, there had been queens of England who had lost their heads. As the queen was not then seventeen years of age, and possessing the affections of Charles, that prince's infatuation in favour of Buckingham is almost unprecedented. But the public still retained a veneration for the virtues of Charles; and he had credit enough to fit out a very fine fleet; tho' he made an unfortunate choice of its commanders. Sir Edward Cecil, who was created vis-

He breaks
with the
queen.

A. D. 1626.

count Wimbledon, commanded in chief, preferably to Sir Horace Vere, whom Buckingham did not chuse to employ; and Sir Robert Mansel, the ablest seaman in England, was laid aside for opposing the minister, though Wimbledon knew nothing of sea duty. Severities against the papists were still continued; and the earl of Essex, who hated Wimbledon, was appointed to command under him. When the fleet was ready to sail, an alarm was spread that the Spaniards intended a descent from Dunkirk upon the coast of Essex; and a squadron of English ships were ordered to block up that port, while the grand fleet, joined by their Dutch auxiliaries, proceeded to Cadiz. I shall not enumerate the trifling preparations and surmises which preceded this expedition. The fleet met with rough weather, but reassembled; and coming before Cadiz, the English took Fort Punta, which opened a passage to Cadiz itself. A council of war being held, the earl of Essex voted for attacking Cadiz, where his father, the famous favourite of queen Elizabeth, had acquired so much glory in her reign.

Unsuccessful expedition to Spain.

All Spain was by this time alarmed; but the taking of Punta fort ruined the expedition. It commanded a large district of territory round it, filled with the most delicious new wines, in which the English indulged themselves so freely, that a mortality ensued in their fleet and army. An attempt made by Sir Samuel

Y
muel

A. D. 1626.

Argale, to attack the Spanish ships that had returned to Port Real, having failed, and dissensions breaking out among all ranks of the English officers, Wimbledon evacuated Fort Punta, re-embarked his men, and after cruising some time off Cape St. Vincent to intercept the Spanish plate-fleet, he was disappointed, and returned to England about the beginning of December. Thus ended that inglorious expedition, not for want of either courage or strength to render it successful, but through the injudicious choice which Buckingham made of the officers who commanded it.

Buckingham was all this time negotiating with the Dutch and the crown of Denmark, to establish a league against the house of Austria, consisting not only of protestant princes and states, but of those Roman catholics who were jealous of its power. Charles, at this time, expended thirty thousand pounds a month in the common cause, besides an immense sum upon his fleet. He had made no doubt of being warmly seconded by France, the natural enemy of the house of Austria; but he was deceived and abused by Richlieu, who still kept possession of the English shipping, that they might be employed against the Hugonots, and not the Genoese. Charles and Buckingham were at the same time very earnest in promoting a treaty between the king of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who was the

A. D. 1626. head of the protestant confederacy, and was to attack the house of Austria in Germany, while the English fleet were to ruin the Spanish possessions in America. It cannot be denied, that if France had acted heartily upon this plan, it was unexceptionable, provided the English parliament could have been brought to advance the money for carrying it into execution.

Proceedings
of the Eng-
lish parlia-
ment.

That assembly met on the sixth of February. Had not Charles been warped by his attachment to Laud, and other churchmen of violent and arbitrary principles, he might have soon got the better of the opposition his measures met with among the commons; but his proceedings were so unpopular, that they immediately fell upon the redress of grievances, with a view of ruining Buckingham, who was then in Holland, where he had pawned the crown-jewels for three hundred thousand pounds to carry on the war. After a long canvass of public mismanagements and grievances, Buckingham was named as being the source of all. Charles endeavoured to divert the storm, by ordering his attorney-general to prosecute the papists. The lord-keeper Williams, who had been very justly suspected by the commons of favouring them, lost the great seal, which was given to Sir Thomas Coventry; but he grew popular through his disgrace, because it was thought to be occasioned by Buckingham. It does not belong to this history to descend to the particular debates of

A.D. 1626

of the English house of commons, farther than as they affected Scotland. The opposition in England, at first, had not strength to carry their point against Buckingham; but every day made such discoveries of the immense abuse of his excessive power, that his enemies daily gained ground. Besides his leaving at the time of his death the greatest landed estate in England, he had laid out half a million sterling, (a prodigious sum for those times) in pictures, statues, jewels, equipages, and other articles of luxury. The most remote degree of kindred or alliance with his friends or family, was a sure passport to power; and the earl of Nithsdale, a reputed papist, having married Buckingham's niece, received a commission from Charles to go to Scotland, and to manage the long depending surrender of the churchlands. He was ordered to promise the royal favour to all who should readily comply with his majesty on that head, but to denounce the severest vengeance against those who refused; but before Nithsdale could make any progress in his commission, the credit of Buckingham received a mortal blow.

The earl of
Nithsdale
sent to
Scotland.

The facts and presumptions which appeared against him were so strong, though not legally authenticated, that the commons resolved to prosecute him upon public fame; and continued, without intermission, to collect matter for a remonstrance to be presented to the king. Charles fore-

Dissentions
between
Charles and
his com-
mons, who
prosecute
Bucking-
ham;

A.D. 1625. foreseeing this, sent repeated messages to acquaint them how much the cause of the Palatinate and the service of the nation suffered, by their not granting money to pay his fleet, which he had kept in commission after his return from Spain. He told them, that the sailors were on the point of mutinying for want of wages; and that his army must be disbanded, if money was not voted for its payment.

The courtiers endeavoured to enforce his majesty's messages; and intimidated the council of war, on pretence of being the king's sworn servants, from answering any questions put to them by the commons. A conference was appointed with the house of peers, who pressed the necessity of granting supplies, previous to all other considerations; and the commons were incessantly put in mind, that the expensive war in which the king was engaged was a measure of their own, and that they were bound in duty and honour to support it. There was, it must be owned, great force and truth in what was urged by the peers, and the servants of the crown; and had it not been for Buckingham's extreme unpopularity, their reasons must have had their weight. Many plain country gentlemen were inclined to vote for the court, because they held it dishonourable to abandon the king, contrary to their promises to support the war. They were answered

by

by the opposition, that the war was but a A. D. 1624. secondary consideration, compared to the preservation of their liberties; and Mr. Coke, son to Sir Edward Coke, said in the debate, "that it was better to be destroyed by a foreign than a domestic enemy." The members of the coolest heads thought it most decent to palliate the real sentiments of the house by a respectful answer; and such of them (for such there were) as secretly aimed at the extinction of monarchy, fell in with this moderation. The substance of their answer, after debate, was, that no king was ever dearer to his people than his majesty; and no people more zealous to maintain and advance the honour and greatness of their king than they, especially in the support of the cause wherein his majesty and allies are justly engaged. "And (continued they) because they cannot doubt but your majesty, in your great wisdom, even out of justice, and according to the example of your most famous predecessors, will be pleased graciously to accept the faithful and necessary information and advice of your parliament, which can have no end but the service of your majesty, and safety of your realm, in discovering the causes, and proposing the remedies of those great evils, which have occasioned your majesty's wants, and your people's grief: They, therefore, in confidence, and full assurance of redress therein, do with one consent

A. D. 1626. sent propose (though in former time such course hath been unused) that they really intend to assist and supply your majesty in such a way, and in so ample a measure, as may make you safe at home, and feared abroad; for the dispatch whereof they will use such diligence, as your majesty's pressing and present occasions shall require."

but they
grant a
subsidy.

Such was the constitutional language of this parliament; and I have given it a place here, because it is that of opposition, and not rebellion. They were answered by a childish, hectoring, speech from Charles, upbraiding them for their inconstancy towards Buckingham, and threatening them with his displeasure, if they did not immediately grant the supplies. Charles was encouraged to this frantic behaviour, by the disposition of the lords; but the house did not think proper to proceed to farther severities against Mr. Coke, or one Dr. Turner, who had distinguished themselves in the opposition to Buckingham, though they voted three subsidies and three fifteenths to be granted to the king; but the act was not to be brought in till grievances were presented and answered. The members then resumed their proceedings against Buckingham, from which Charles hoped to divert them, by treating them with greater roughness. He ordered both houses to attend him at Whitehall, where he and his lord-keeper soothed the peers, and
bullied

bullied the commons, especially for not punishing the two obnoxious members whom he had complained of. The commons, on returning to their house, laid aside all other business, till they could come to some resolution concerning the unconstitutional language that had fallen from the king and his keeper. This resolute proceeding daunted Charles so much, that he ordered Buckingham, who was now returned to England, to defend his and his own conduct in parliament. Buckingham performed the task with greater decency and strength of reasoning than either Charles or his lord-keeper had discovered. He shewed the necessity of the supply, the vast temptations he had withstood in Spain, to prevail on him to change his religion. He offered to prove that all his measures had been agreed to in council; and that though the late expedition into Spain had not been very successful, yet that it had greatly distressed the enemy in Flanders. He mentioned the league which he had concluded with the states-general, and the backwardness he found both in France and Denmark to conclude a treaty offensive and defensive against the house of Austria. He then vindicated his own conduct as lord high-admiral; and perhaps we have few speeches in the English records, preceding this time, that are penned with greater elegance and precision than this of Buckingham.

A. D. 1626.

Buckingham defends himself,

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A. D. 1626.

He was seconded by the lord Conway, who was secretary of state, and who laid before the parliament the sums that had been expended in the war; and the services for which they had been employed. It is not too bold to say, that had facts been the only objects of this parliament's proceedings, a good understanding between it and the crown might have been easily effected; but the avowed principles of Charles were tyrannical. He took upon himself all the blame imputed to his minister, as if the constitutional maxim, "that the king can do no wrong," was sufficient to have saved Buckingham. He had laid it down as part of his prerogative, that parliaments should not meddle with his servants, and he had already carried it into practice. He denied that the commons had any right to interpose in foreign affairs, or to examine the dispatches of his ministers. Such were some of the reasons, tho' not all, which induced the commons to push on their impeachment against Buckingham. It consisted of thirteen articles, setting forth his great abuse of the power which had been entrusted to him by his master. Buckingham answered each article in order. He extenuated some, and denied others, particularly the charge of having lent the English ships to the French court, to be employed against Rochelle. He said, that they had been lent, at first, without his privity; and that when he knew that

and answers
the articles
of his im-
peachment.

that they were to be employed against the Rochellers, and not the Genoese, he had done all he could to recover them. The eleventh article urged against him was, "That he had procured divers titles of honour to his mother's, brother's, kindred, and allies, of small estates, to the prejudice of the nobility, and the damage of the crown." The duke's answer: "That as to procuring some few honours for those who were so near and dear unto him, the law of nature, and the king's royal favour, may plead for his excuse." The twelfth article related to the vast grants and sums of money he had obtained from the crown, as appeared by schedules annexed, to the impoverishment of the royal revenues, as the money was granted without account. Buckingham, in answer, said, "That he doth acknowledge the bountiful hand of his late majesty; but as to the immense sums and values which are suggested to have been given him, there be great mistakes in the schedules, to which he will give particular answer in another schedule."

The thirteenth and last article was of the blackest complexion, and is not foreign to this history, as the matter made so much noise both in Scotland and in England, and is as follows:

"That whereas nothing ought to be administered to, the royal persons of kings in

A. D 1626. their sickness, without consent and direction of some of their known physicians, the said duke, without any sufficient warrant, did unduly cause and procure certain plasters, and a certain drink, or potion, to be given to his late majesty; after which, divers ill symptoms did appear upon his said majesty, who did attribute the cause of his growing worse to the said plasters and drink."——The duke's answer: "That he was, by infinite bonds of duty and thankfulness, obliged to be tender of the life and health of his late sovereign master. That he did neither apply nor procure the plasters or posset-drink, in the charge termed a potion, to his late majesty, nor was present when the same was first taken or applied. But that his majesty being sick of an ague, enquired how he the duke had lately recovered from the like distemper; and he told his majesty that the earl of Warwick's physician had cured him with a plaster and posset-drink. The king desired to have the like medicines sent for; but the duke delayed it, till the king commanded them to be fetched by an express messenger, and first took them in his the duke's absence. When the king grew worse, he the duke heard a rumour, as if the physic had done the king hurt, and that he the duke had administered it without advice. The duke acquainting the king herewith, his majesty, with much discontent, answered thus; "They are worse

worse than devils that say it." He humbly prays their lordships not only to consider the truth of this matter, but also to commiserate the sad thought which this article had revived in him."

A. D. 1626.

It is surprizing that, considering the facility with which Buckingham domineered over his two masters, and his own imperious insolence, the commons were unable to form against him any stronger charge than that which they carried up against him to the peers at this time. Weak as it was, (if we consider it in a judicial light) they voted the impeachment with a fourth subsidy to the king; and at the same time sent a message to the house of peers to demand that Buckingham should be imprisoned, not only upon their impeachment, but upon the charge brought against him by the earl of Bristol. The commons failed in their message; and Charles ordered Sir Dudley Diggs, who had opened the impeachment, and Sir John Elliot, who had supported it with great vehemence, to be sent to the Tower, for using too much freedom in their speeches. The charge against Diggs was found to be false, and he was honourably discharged from his confinement, as was Elliot likewise, after some hesitation. Buckingham all this while behaved with great firmness, and provoked his enemies to proceed to his trial; but he now lost his temper when he spoke of his enemies in the

Illegal imprisonment of two members.

the

A. D. 1626. the house of peers. The latter, by refusing to send Buckingham to the Tower, in fact, rejected his impeachment. A peace had been made between the French king and his protestant subjects. The English ships had returned from France; and Richlieu had offered to enter into a four years league with England for the recovery of the Palatinate. All these appearances were promising; but they were so far from doing service to Charles, that the opposition made use of them as arguments, that he would have no occasion for a fleet, and therefore no money ought to be granted for that purpose. They therefore renewed their enquiry into grievances; made remonstrances against the payment of tonnage and poundage, without their own consent; ordered fresh prosecutions to be set on foot, and kept the subsidy bills in suspense.

Charles dissolves the parliament,

The truth is, the leaders in the opposition began now neither to fear nor to trust Charles. He had violated the privileges of his parliament without provocation, and had repaired them without satisfaction. He had meanly offered his own personal evidence in the house of peers, in favour of Buckingham, both against the commons and the earl of Bristol. The peers, as well as the commons, were disgusted at the king thus becoming a party in a matter of high treason; and Buckingham having brought a counter-charge against Bristol,

tol, Charles attempted to carry it out of the A. D. 1646. house of peers into the king's bench. The peers made so obstinate an opposition to this measure, that it was dropt; but Charles threatened to dissolve the parliament, if the supplies were longer delayed; and extended favour to the Roman catholics, at the very time the commons were petitioning him that they should be punished. This exasperated them so much, that they drew up fresh remonstrances against Buckingham, with additional matter; but without taking notice of his answers to their former charges, though they promised to make a reply. All this served only to confirm Charles in his design to dissolve the parliament, which he actually did on the fifteenth of June, while the commons were entering upon new and very vigorous measures against the court. Charles, by the dissolution of his parliament, was reduced to the necessity of ruling by his prerogative; and by Buckingham's advice he raised money by proclamation, in order to continue the war.

I shall not here descend into the various and governs by his prerogative. modes of financing now pursued by Charles and his ministers, all which may be found in the histories of England. Few readers are strangers to the illegal demand which he made of ship-money, and to the obsolete doctrines and precedents which were revived by his crown-lawyers to support it. Those resources, with

A. D. 1626. with the revenues of the crown-lands, however unjustifiable and illegal they were, unquestionably brought in large sums, because Charles was maintaining a war on the continent all this time at a prodigious expence. He had twelve thousand English and Dutch in pay under Mansfeld; who had joined the king of Denmark; but in endeavouring to penetrate into Silesia, he had been defeated by Wallenstein with great loss. Mansfeld attempted, notwithstanding his defeat, to join Bethlem Gabor, the prince of Transylvania; but the latter had, in the intermediate time, made his terms with the emperor, which disgusted Mansfeld so much, that he resigned the command of the army, and died obscurely in a Dalmatian village, as he was travelling to Venice. Duke Christian of Brunswick, and the duke of Saxe Weimar, two other great protestant generals, died soon after; and the king of Denmark was defeated and driven into the territory of Holstein by the imperial general Tilly.

His allies
defeated.

A French
war breaks
out.

Charles, or rather Buckingham, had been very active in procuring a peace between the French court and the hugonots, in hopes that it would have left Richlieu at liberty to act against Spain. Instead of that, he made use of the respite it gave him to obtain a peace with Spain, and to ruin or destroy his enemies at the French court. This changed the object of Buckingham's enmity from the court of
Spain

Spain to that of France. He still retained hopes of succeeding in his amour with the French queen ; and he considered Richlieu as the only bar of his passion. There are strong reasons to believe, that she privately complained, by the duke of Savoy's embassador in England, of the danger she was in from that bloody minister ; and that this had a great share in determining Buckingham's conduct. As Charles had been admitted guarantee of the peace between the French king and his protestant subjects, he had a plausible pretence for maintaining the Rochellers in the privileges he had procured them ; and no sooner did Richlieu manifest his intentions to besiege Rochelle, than he communicated to the duke of Rohan a plan of operations for invading France, which amounted to little less than a scheme for pushing his army to the gates of Paris ; for his troops were to be joined by those of the duke of Savoy, and the French protestants. Charles had at this time a great army on foot, and a fleet at sea, for executing his vast projects ; and Buckingham despairing of ever being reconciled to the people of England, gave way to the greatest oppressions ; for the troops lived at free-quarters, and were governed by martial law.

Buckingham himself became now as rapacious, as he had been before generous ; and the nation of England being immensely rich,

Buckingham's miscarriage in attempting the relief of Rochelle.

A. D. 1626. Charles and he were in hopes that the wealthy individuals would not dare to resist the court, for fear of losing their property. The very reverse, however, of this proved to be the case; for their riches enabled them to struggle for their independency and liberty. Buckingham was then negotiating a peace with Spain, that he might turn the strength of England entirely against France. He was so thoroughly exasperated against that court, as to prevail with Charles to dismiss all his queen's French attendants, excepting one priest, which her brother resented as a breach of the marriage articles. The earl of Denbigh commanded the fleet; but the summer passed without any action; and many of the most illustrious commoners in England were put under confinement, for refusing to contribute to the loan demanded by Charles. New preparations by sea went still forward; while a declaration of war was drawn up against France; and Buckingham produced his master's commission to be commander in chief, both by sea and land, with a power to confer the honour of knighthood. His fleet consisted of ninety ships, eight of which were first rates. The duke of Rohan is said to have commanded ten thousand men; but when Buckingham came with his fleet before Rochelle, the inhabitants refused to receive the English within their town, lest, if they had
 1627. been

been admitted, they would have kept it in their own right. Buckingham upon this made a descent upon the isle of Rhé, where he beat the French general Thoyras; but instead of improving his victory, he lay for five days inactive, which gave the French time to recover from the panic into which they had been thrown by the invasion. The rest of his campaign in France was a continued series of blunders. He failed in attempting to take Fort Martin; and by a secret correspondence he kept up with Richlieu's enemies in France, he became obnoxious to the protestants as well as to the Roman catholics of that kingdom. He, at last, called a council of war, where it was determined that the fleet and army should return to England. Thus all the valour and intrepidity of the English were exerted to no purpose; and Buckingham reimarked his men about the middle of November, after losing in the campaign, and in their retreat to his ships, four thousand of his best troops, and among them all his cavalry.

Though Buckingham was never suspected of being deficient in personal courage, yet this attempt proved that he had no knowledge in the art of war. The deputies from Rochelle could not, however, prevail with Charles to dismiss him from his command; nor could they procure a supply of corn for their fellow-citizens, who were now threatened with all the

A new parliament called.

A. D. 1627. weight of Richlieu's vengeance. The wretched situation of affairs both at home and abroad, rendered a parliament necessary; and it met
 1628. on the seventeenth of March, excessively ruffled with the tyrannical proceedings of the court during its recess. Though Charles offered to comply with all their demands for securing their liberty, yet they knew him too well to trust him; and they looked upon his concessions to be no other than temporary expedients for supplying his necessities. Great preparations were indeed making for relieving Rochelle; but the language of the opposition in the house of commons was more bitter than ever against the court; and the favourite and the advocates for the prerogative were greatly overmatched by their opponents in all their debates. It was in this parliament that the famous Petition of Right was drawn up; and though it contained every thing which the commons thought necessary for securing the privileges of the people, yet Charles passed it with so bad a grace, that it gave them no satisfaction, and they distrusted him as much as ever. They continued still to rail against Buckingham, and demanded his dismissal from court. Many charges, most of them groundless, were revived against him; and among others, was that of his intending to call in an army of Scots to overawe England; and that his bosom counsellors were Scotch jesuits,

fuirs. In short, a fresh remonstrance was drawn up against him by the house and delivered to Charles; but to qualify those mortifications, the subsidy bill was passed, and sent up to the house of lords. A. D. 1628.

This new remonstrance put Charles into so bad a humour, that he would not suffer the subsidy bill, after being passed by the lords, to be as usual sent back to the commons, lest it should be detained in that house; but at the same time he cancelled some arbitrary commissions, because they were complained of by the commons as being inconsistent with the bill of rights. This condescension softened the opposition in the house of commons; and it was proposed to pass an act for granting the king tonnage and poundage. Had such an act passed at this time, it might have prevented all the miseries which the king and nation afterwards underwent; but the ill-designing part of the house perplexed the different proportions that were to be paid in such a manner as wore out the king's patience; and he declared that he would in a few days put an end to their session: upon this the bill was dropt, a remonstrance was drawn up against levying tonnage and poundage; and while it was reading, the king, on the twenty-eighth of June, prorogued the session, for their presuming to take away the profit of his tonnage and poundage, which he called one of the chief maintenances of his crown. This

was

A. D. 1628.

was in Charles a high act of imprudence, if not of infatuation, as it is more than probable that the well-intentioned members would have carried the bill through, notwithstanding all the opposition they met with.

Buckingham prepares to return to Rochelle with a fleet.

During the sitting of parliament, Buckingham's presence being necessary in England, Denbigh was sent with another fleet to the relief of Rochelle, which had been besieged by Richlieu in person. He found the shores lined with the French army, and protected by a fleet; so that it was declared impracticable for the English to enter the harbour, as they had been flattered by the Rochellers. The earl of Denbigh certainly was to blame in not attempting to revictual the place with the small French ships he had in his fleet, which their commanders offered to attempt. This miscarriage revived the public clamour against Buckingham, whose brother-in-law Denbigh was. Charles, who sincerely intended the relief of the place, ordered Denbigh to return, and renew the attempt at all hazards. Buckingham found himself now so obnoxious to the public, that he resolved to command the expedition in person, as its success was the only chance he had for regaining his popularity. While preparations were making for this expedition, Buckingham received several mortifications, which a man of his spirit must feel. A Scotch commander of a ship, one Wilson, seeing him talking in a public
bow-

bowling-green to the king with his hat on, pulled it off, and threw it to the ground, bidding him remember to whom he spoke; and his escape was favoured by the crowd.

Balfour, in his Manuscript Annals, tells us, that Buckingham discountenanced the Danish ambassador, and prevented his obtaining his suits at the court of England; and he likewise suggests, that he never was serious in his pretence of relieving Rochelle; and that he had some other design in his head. This conjecture must appear an idle surmise to the readers of the English history, because no writer ever countenanced the suspicion; but that Buckingham's head was filled at this time with one of the most extraordinary and romantic projects that ever was conceived, can admit of no manner of doubt, though it never was discovered till the late publication of Clarendon's State Papers: It there appears, that while Buckingham was in Spain, one Fennyn, a secretary of his Catholic majesty, imparted to him a project for rendering the English masters of the Spanish American riches. Gustavus Adolphus began now to make a great figure in the affairs of Europe, and that chiefly by means of the Scotch officers and soldiers he had in his army. Buckingham seems to have had a private agent at the Swedish court; he entered into a negotiation with that monarch for conquering the Spanish treasures and mines, and for declaring him and all his

heirs

His extraordinary contract with Gustavus Adolphus.

Printed
1767.

A. D. 1622. heirs absolute princes and sovereigns over the same. The bargain was accordingly struck, and the contract signed on the eighth of March this year at Stockholm by Gustavus Adolphus, and counter-parts interchanged.

By this agreement, his Swedish majesty was to furnish the duke with four thousand foot, and six men of war, each of five hundred ton, with cannon and ammunition; but they were to be paid out of the revenues of the territories and gold mines. The king, on the other hand, was to receive the tenth part of the profit arising from the discoveries and conquests, to be paid monthly; and he was to guarantee the duke's possession of the same; nor was he ever to treat "of peace with the emperor, nor with the king of Spain, that shall or may cause any inconvenience to the said duke, touching the possessing the said treasures, mines, and territories aforesaid."

That such a man as Buckingham, desperate as he now was, should enter into a project of this kind, is not at all surprizing; but it is pretty unaccountable that such a man as Gustavus Adolphus should give it his hand and seal. **MSA.** Balfour mentions a regiment of three thousand Scotchmen, to be commanded by the earl of Morton, which was to serve in Buckingham's secret, but real, expedition. I have thus laid the facts before the reader, without presuming to draw any inference. According to the same paper,

paper, the duke certainly intended to attempt the conquest of Jamaica, St. Domingo, and other places; and his plan was adopted by Cromwell, in the famous expeditions he fitted out against Hispaniola, or St. Domingo. As to the earl of Morton's command, all I know is, that his son was married to Buckingham's niece; that he himself was the greatest favourite Charles had in Scotland, and by him appointed lord-high-treasurer of that kingdom, one of the lords of the privy-council in England, and knight of the most noble order of the garter; and that he was so true a royalist, that he advanced thirty thousand pounds sterling to Charles in his distress, for which he was obliged to sell his fine estate at Dalkeith. Upon the whole, I am inclined to believe, that supposing Buckingham to have really intended to relieve Rochelle, it was not the ultimate object of his ambition, or preparations.

The preparations for the relief of Rochelle were pushed on at Portsmouth with so much earnestness, that Charles intended to supervise them in person, and arrived in the neighbourhood of that sea-port, to which Buckingham repaired. He found the crews of the ships in so bad a humour, that they surrounded his coach, demanding their wages; and Buckingham ran the most forward of them through the body with his own hand; but was forced to take refuge in his lodging. On the twenty-

He is assassinated by Felton.

A.D. 1628. third of August, he was assassinated by Felton; but the particulars of the murder are too well known to require a repetition here. Buckingham was succeeded in the command of the fleet by the earl of Lindsey; and some discoveries were now made, that tended to call his sincerity in question; for the ships stores being found deficient both in quantity and quality, Charles repaired in person to Portsmouth; and according to the duke of Rohan's Memoirs, more was done during his presence in ten or twelve days, than in many weeks before. The fleet was not ready to sail till the eighth of September, when Richlieu having finished his great works before Rochelle, had reduced the inhabitants to extremity by famine. Lindsey had orders to consult the duke de Soubise in all his operations; but there was no good understanding between them; and before they could agree upon the decisive measure of attacking the great dyke, the place was obliged to capitulate. Lindsey, upon his return, laid the blame of the miscarriage upon the captains of the fleet, who were all Buckingham's creatures, and without either courage or experience for their posts.

Rochelle
is taken.

1629. Before the sitting of the English parliament, on the tenth of January, 1629, the character of Charles had suffered greatly, not only on account of the miscarriage of the Rochelle expedition, but for the arbitrary impositions upon his subjects, by virtue of a pretended prerogative,

tive, which was directly destructive of the Petition of Rights. Many merchants and gentlemen of great property had been arbitrarily imprisoned for refusing to submit to those illegal demands. The sea-officers whom the earl of Lindsey complained of were dismissed without trial, after a short imprisonment; and all the enquiry into the state of the fleet when it set sail, was laid aside. In short, (though it may not be thought proper in a history of Scotland to enlarge upon facts relating to that of England, yet) I may venture to say, that the glaring inconsistencies of Buckingham's conduct, and the defective state of the fleet, can only be accounted for by keeping in our eye the secret contract he had made with the king of Sweden; and I must refer my reader to Mrs. Macaulay's observations upon the expedition, which were published long before the Clarendon collections. The parliament meeting, Charles found the opposition as stubborn as ever, notwithstanding the defection of Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, from the party. State informations, prosecutions, and star-chamber trials, were again revived; and the public was exasperated beyond measure at the king's arbitrary unconstitutional proceedings. Richlieu had gained a great point by the death of Buckingham; for Charles now fell in with the councils of his queen, who had always disliked the rupture with France. Both nations were so

A. D. 1629.

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A. D. 1629. involved in civil diffensions, that peace was equally desirable to both ; and a peace was accordingly concluded ; but to the dishonour of England, it was prescribed by Richlieu. This was succeeded by another peace with Spain, which was originally negotiated by Rubens, the famous painter ; and Charles apologized to his sister for the measure, as being the only one that could serve her, by leaving him at liberty to assist the king of Sweden against the house of Austria.

Charles intends to resume the church-lands.

Charles having thus formed his detestable system of governing England without a parliament, resolved to receive in person the crown of his ancient kingdom of Scotland. He had long flattered himself, that that nation was entirely devoted to his service ; and I have already hinted, that Buckingham had thrown his eye towards that people for protection against the parliament of England. Charles was so intent upon his visit to Scotland, that he proposed to have come down post to Edinburgh ; but the viscount Duplin, who was then chancellor of Scotland, dissuaded him, on account of the indecency of such a journey, and the state of his royal houses there, which were not in a condition to receive him. He ordered his parliament, however, to meet, chiefly that it might complete the scheme he had laid for the resumption of the church-lands. The earl of Nithsdale had pushed this measure, but with no great

great success, and had summoned a meeting of all concerned at Edinburgh; and when they were met together they resolved, (if we are to believe bishop Burnet) to murder the earl of Nithsdale, and all his party, if they insisted upon the resumption. Douglas, viscount Belhaven, though blind, in consequence of this barbarous resolution being placed near the earl of Dumfries, under pretence that he was in such fear of falling, that he could not help holding fast those who were next him, seized the earl with one hand, while the other held a dagger, with which he certainly would have dispatched him, had there been any disturbance. The complexion of the meeting was such, that Nithsdale returned to court without opening all his instructions.

When the estates met in July, forty-two noblemen, ten bishops, four great officers of state, twenty-six commissioners of shires, and eighteen of burghs, were present. I suspect this to have been the meeting mentioned by Burnet; for according to Balfour, (whom the chancellor this year, with great solemnity, crowned Lyon king at arms,) all that was debated in the convention was, how to bring about the designs of the court; but they met with such opposition, that the discussion of them was referred to a parliament. A considerable supply, however, was voted; but according to Balfour, all the money was expended in bringing needy lords

Proceedings
of the
Scotch par-
liament.

A.D. 1629. lords and hungry courtiers into court measures. While this convention of the States was fitting, one Mr. William Struthers, who was bishop of Galloway, and one of the ministers of Edinburgh, wrote a very free letter to the earl of Perth. He there takes notice that the bishops were now become "*publici odii victimæ*," victims of public hatred; and prophetically mentions the consequences which afterwards attended the pressing those ceremonies farther. The letter is preserved by Balfour, and is penned with great force of reason, and an authority becoming the character of the writer. The Scotch bishops, in general, were now weak, violent, and bigotted; and no longer possessed that moderation, which had distinguished their order during the late reign. This was owing to the furious principles of Laud, who directed Charles in matters of religion, as his queen did in those of government. Laud pushed the conformity of the Scotch ecclesiastical government with that of England even to the most ridiculous gesticulations; and suggested to Charles, that they were essentials in religion, because practised by the primitive church; that even the worship of the church of England, and far more that of Scotland, had been left imperfect by James; and that it concerned the conscience of Charles to bring them to the standard of religious purity.

Balfour's
MSS.

The common people, and the violent clergy, A. D. 1634 had long found fault even with that moderate episcopacy and conformity with the church of England, which James had established in Scotland; but their feudal dependencies did not suffer them to make any effectual opposition to those innovations, especially after the promise made by the marquis of Hamilton, when the five Perth articles were passed, that no farther conformity would be pressed. The nobility and superior ranks in Scotland did not much dislike episcopacy, and were so well reconciled to the moderate bishops under James, that they lived together in very good terms. They took the alarm when they saw Charles bent upon the exaltation of the episcopal order, and upon the introduction of farther innovations, not only in worship, but in habits to be worn by the clergy, some of which were theatrically pompous. They considered this as plain indications that the king intended to resume the church-lands, and consequently to strip many of them of their best estates. When they saw the vacant sees given by Laud to violent hot-headed young clergymen, under pretence that the old bishops were timid, luke-warm, and betrayers of the rights of episcopacy, they entered into secret consultations how to ward off the intended blow of resumption. None of the new bishops, tho' all of them fiery followers of Laud, had either

State of
Scotland at
this time.

A.D. 1630. ther the learning or abilities required in their order, excepting one Maxwell; but he was stained with immoderate ambition, and ripe for all compliances. As the severities of the king's principles, with regard to prerogative, were well known in Scotland, the opposers of his ecclesiastical measures never proceeded farther than a protest in parliament; and they seemed perfectly to acquiesce in the royal pleasure. Such of the clergy, however, who detested episcopacy, and who were much followed by the laity, under pretence of fasts and religious exercises, had meetings, in which they entered into associations, and took other measures for strengthening their party; but still without any appearance of proceeding to acts of rebellion.

1631.
Resumption
of the
crown-
land.

Charles, about this time, was intent not only upon resuming the church-lands, but sheriffships, and other hereditary jurisdictions; a measure as justifiable, as the other was imprudent. Those belonging to the marquis of Huntley were the most considerable, and rendered him too powerful for a subject. The marquis, in consideration of five thousand pounds sterling, (a sum which never was paid him) accordingly resigned into the king's hands the hereditary sheriffships of Aberdeen and Inverness. About the same time, the king granted the knights-baronets of Scotland the liberty and privilege to wear about their necks
an

an orange tawny ribband, whereon should hang pendant a saltire azure in a scutcheon argent, that is, a blue St. Andrew's cross upon a white field; and thereon an escutcheon with the arms of Scotland, with an imperial crown above, incircled with this motto, "Fax mentis honestæ gloria," (that is, glory is the incentive of a noble mind) to distinguish them in future ages; and this warrant was appointed to be registered in the heralds office in Scotland. I have been the more particular with regard to those insignia, because I never could find out the reason why they are not worn now by the Scotch baronets, while those of the Bath, an inferior order of knighthood, are pompously displayed on the person of every member.

A.D. 1632.

An accident which happened at this time in Scotland, shews how powerful family animosities still operated in that country, and how strongly the feudal spirit still prevailed. A quarrel happened between the barons of Fren-draught and Gordon of Rothemay, in which the latter was killed; and his widow accepted about two thousand two hundred pounds sterling as the price of his blood; nor do I find that any legal inquisition was made into the slaughter. One Lesley soon after was shot through the arm by one of Fren-draught's friends or attendants, which Lesley's father resented so much, that the marquis of Huntley

Disorders in the north.

A.D. 1631. was obliged to protect Frendraught in his house, to prevent his being assassinated; and sent him home with a strong guard under his son, the viscount of Aboyn. That nobleman, and some of his chief attendants, remaining all night at Frendraught's house, the same was set on fire; and Aboyn, with the baron of Rothemay, and two other gentlemen, and two servants, perished in the flames, though they might easily have been saved by Frendraught, who remained an unconcerned spectator in a detached part of the house. Suspicion falling very strongly upon Frendraught, Huntley was preparing a severe revenge for his son's death, when Frendraught seized, and carried prisoner to Edinburgh, one Meldrum, a relation to Lesley abovementioned, who was tried and executed as the incendiary, though nothing was proved against him; and he died denying the fact. A woman and some other persons were tortured upon the same account, but confessed nothing; and the privy-council, at last, issued a commission, directed to the most respectable noblemen and gentlemen of the county, who, after a minute inquisition, made their report that the house must have been set on fire by design, and not by accident.

The suspicions that Frendraught was the incendiary were now confirmed; and proceedings by law being slow, the Gordons, being most of them friends of Rothemay, associated together,

together, and desolated Frendraught's estate to a very considerable sum. They even hanged one of his tenants, and put up the effects they did not destroy at public auction. Frendraught was obliged to fly to Edinburgh, where he obtained an order from the privy-council for the marquis of Huntley, twelve barons, twelve gentlemen, and twelve ministers, to appear before that board, and give evidence, or be examined, as to these disorders. The marquis, on pretence of age and indisposition, did not appear; but his excuse was not admitted; and such of his friends as did appear, were immediately imprisoned: the marquis, and those who did not appear, were declared fugitives; and great diligence was used, or pretended to be used, by the sheriffs of Aberdeen and Barmf, to bring the rioters, who certainly were guilty of horrid outrages, to justice. As the marquis was really by age, infirmities, and bad weather, disabled from appearing at Edinburgh, there seems to have been some private reasons why the council proceeded so rigorously against them. When, with great difficulty, he did appear at the council-board, his sentence of fugitation was taken off; but he was required to apprehend the offenders, and bring them prisoners before the council. The marquis pleaded he had neither power nor authority to execute such an order; but he was answered, that he should have a

A. D. 1631. particular commission for that purpose; and at the same time he was obliged to enter into a recognizance to indemnify Frendraught from all further damage, and to promise to give an account of his diligence by a certain day, in apprehending the fugitives.

During those transactions, captain Adam Gordon, one of the most obnoxious of the number, purchased his peace, by accusing the marquis and his friends as the authors of all the irregularities that had happened; and tho' the marquis appeared at Edinburgh to clear himself, yet he was committed close prisoner to the castle, and two of the principal gentlemen of his name to a dungeon within the jail of Edinburgh. An order soon after came for his deliverance out of prison; but he died on his return home in the seventy-fourth year of his age. Though the persecutions of the marquis continued for four or five years, yet I have kept the narrative of them entire, because I am of opinion that his troubles were occasioned by the secret enemies of Charles in Scotland, on account of the great power and influence the marquis had in the north, and his friends being profest royalists.

Charles
treats with
Gustavus
Adolphus.

Charles, unwilling to break with the imperial court, though under engagements with Gustavus Adolphus to assist his sister and the Palatinate family, fell upon an expedient, which he thought would remove all his difficulties,

culties. He had been very serviceable to Gustavus, especially in mediating a peace between him and the Poles, which left that monarch at liberty to make the German war his sole object. The emperor, on the other hand, finding that the Roman catholics as well as the protestant princes of the empire began to be jealous of his greatness, gave Charles fallacious hopes that he would restore the Palatinate, which for some time kept him undetermined. This occasioned Gustavus Adolphus to press him earnestly by his ministers to specify the assistance that he was to expect from Great Britain in his invasion of Germany; and those instances were seconded by the Palatine minister. Charles, unable longer to defer giving them a positive answer, cast his eyes upon the marquis of Hamilton, with a view of that nobleman's treating in his own name with Gustavus.

The marquis, at the time of Charles's accession, resided in Scotland, to repair the breaches which his patrimonial estate had suffered by his father's expensive manner of living at court. He had in his youth been obliged to marry one of Buckingham's nieces by the countess of Denbigh; but he secretly hated that favourite, though being of a dark reserved temper, he did not express his dislike in public. Considering himself as being at the head of the Scotch nobility, and first prince of the blood, he was

Character
of the mar-
quis of Ha-
milton.

at

A. D. 1631. at great pains to mediate between the king and his discontented subjects in Scotland ; and such was his caution, that each party thought he was its friend. Charles, who, like his father, had great partialities towards the princes of his blood, pressed the marquis so earnestly to come to court, that he at last complied, but not till after Buckingham's death ; and though but twenty-three years of age, he was all at once raised to be master of the horse, lord of the bed-chamber, and privy-counsellor in both kingdoms. His grave serious cast soon endeared him to Charles ; and he became a favourite with all parties at court, because he seemed to side with none. The queen of Bohemia, whom Charles supported at an incredible expence, discovered a particular confidence in her cousin Hamilton ; and intimated to her brother, that her concerns could not be more safely trusted than in his hands. As he had a great claim upon the crown of France for the duchy of Chatleheraut, Charles endeavoured to render him as considerable as possible in the eyes of foreigners, which he did to such a degree, that they considered him in an independent light ; and the courts of France and Spain had actually made him private overtures. But though Hamilton was very ambitious, and though his lofty deportment and reserved manner gave rise to many suspicions, as if he had an eye upon the crown of Scotland,

land, yet he continued inviolably attached to Charles, who gave him leave to enter into a treaty with Gustavus Adolphus, for the service of the queen of Bohemia, Charles thinking that the only expedient to prevent his coming to a direct breach with the imperial court. The parties named in the treaty, which has come to our hands, are only the king of Sweden, and the marquis of Hamilton, master of the horse to the most serene king of Great Britain; and the negotiation was finished by colonel Alexander Hamilton. The terms of the treaty were, that the marquis should raise, carry over to Germany, and maintain during the war, at his own expence, six thousand men; he and they to act in the service of the king of Sweden. They were to be joined, in case of necessity, at their landing by four thousand Swedish troops; and the marquis undertook to pay two thousand to be raised by his Swedish majesty; the whole to be commanded by the marquis in that king's absence. Some other articles concerning the artillery branch were added.

Those terms, with a few explanations of no great importance, added by the marquis, being agreed upon, Gustavus entered with vast spirit upon his arduous attempt. He often acknowledged, that he owed the excellent discipline his army was under to the Scotch officers in his service, and that they had a principal share in all his victories; though Gustavus was far from

His agreement with the king of Sweden produces a conspiracy against him.

A. D. 1635. from being remarkable for making them any grateful returns. One David Ramsay was joined in commission with colonel Hamilton; and no fewer than twenty-eight Scotch colonels then serving in the Swedish armies, he was ordered to treat with Gustavus, that a few of them should serve under the marquis, to assist in disciplining his new-raised troops, one half of whom were to be raised in Scotland, and the other half in England. Charles, to give a greater share of independence to the marquis, besides vast sums of money furnished from his private purse, granted him the customs upon sweet wines in Scotland for sixteen years, amounting to twenty thousand pounds sterling a year, to defray the expence of his expedition.

Ramsay had, at the same time, a private commission to treat with other Scotch officers, though not in the Swedish service, to enter into Hamilton's army. Ramsay was a foolish talkative man; and seems, by his conversation over his cups, to have favoured a surmise, which began to gain ground among the foreign Scotch officers, who were in general violent protestants, and most of them presbyterians, as if Charles intended, by the assistance of Roman catholic powers, to introduce popery into his dominions. The great command with which Charles had so impolitically entrusted Hamilton, suggested a thought among them, that as he was a protestant, and nearly related to the crown,

crown, he would make a very proper king for Scotland. This conversation was generally attended with some desperate treasonable proposals; and Mackay lord Reay, a Scotch nobleman, but a general officer in the Swedish service, and one of Ramsay's intimates, carried over to England an account of the conversation upon those treasonable subjects, which he pretended had passed between himself and Ramsay. He associated with lord Ochiltree, the son of that colonel Stuart, who had so infamously usurped the title of earl of Arran during the late reign; a man of some abilities, but a violent, because hereditary enemy, to the Hamilton family; and Reay made him his confidant in his charge against the marquis, which was, that he intended to employ the army he was raising, in making himself king of Scotland. Ochiltree encouraged Reay to persevere in the charge; and Reay endeavoured to have it attested by several other officers and gentlemen, but failed in all his attempts of that kind. Ochiltree was not so cautious as Reay (who confined his charge to what he said passed between him and Ramsay); for he drew up a formal memorial to bring the charge home against the marquis; and filled his paper with very gross invectives against all the nobility who were supposed to be friends or relations of the Hamilton family. Ochiltree communicated his memorial to the lord-treasurer Weston, a weak pusillanimous man, who

A.D. 1631. made a merit with Charles of laying before him Ochiltree's paper. Though Charles disbelieved every word of the charge, yet Reay was several times examined before the lords of the council, who declared that they could find no ground for the accusation; but that Ochiltree's paper directly impeached the marquis of Hamilton. When Ramsay was examined, he denied all the allegations brought by Reay; and Charles disregarded the whole affair so much, that the marquis arriving in the mean while from Scotland, he ordered him to sleep that night in his own bed-chamber, though one of the articles urged against him was, that being a bed-chamber man, he intended to murder the king. Reay and Ramsay still persisting in their several assertions, Charles was weak enough to admit them to clear themselves by the old barbarous trial by duel. Tothill-fields, Westminster, was appointed to be the scene of action; but when both parties had mounted the stage in rich dresses, Charles forbade the combat. I do not find that any censure was inflicted either upon Reay or Ramsay, though the former was ruined in his reputation; for his regiment had been cut in pieces in Germany, while he was making his ridiculous discoveries in England. As to Ochiltree, Charles thought that the part he acted was of so bad a complexion, that he remitted him to be tried in Scotland, where being found guilty, he was sentenced to perpetual

which is
discovered
and de-
feated.

tual imprisonment; and he actually lay in confinement for twenty years. A. D. 1631.

It has been questioned, whether public spirit, or personal ambition, engaged Gustavus in his expedition against the house of Austria. I have many reasons for believing that the latter had the ascendancy; and that he intended to have created an independent state out of his conquests in Germany. He first raised the siege of Stralsund, which had been formed by Wallenstein, and published a manifesto in defence of his conduct. He then ordered Lesley, a Scotchman, and one of his best generals, to drive the imperialists out of the isle of Rugen, and reinstate the duke of Mecklenburg in his territories, which had been granted by the emperor to Wallenstein. His farther successes obliged the imperialists to return towards Frankfort: but Tilly took Magdeburgh by storm, and put to the sword thirty thousand of its inhabitants, without distinction of degree, age, or sex.

Such was the state of the campaign in Germany, when the marquis of Hamilton set sail from Yarmouth roads, with more than his full complement of auxiliaries. His intention was to have landed at Bremen; but not finding the Swedish troops there, to receive and escort him according to compact, he landed at the mouth of the Oder, between Volgast and the isle of Usedom. His arrival re-animated Gustavus, and the protestants in Germany, who had been

*Expedition
of the
marquis of
Hamilton
to Germa-
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- A D. 1631. damped by the tragedy acted at Magdeburgh; and from that moment, the scale of war, during the life-time of Gustavus, was turned against the imperialists. He omitted nothing to testify his joy at their landing; and sent Lesley to compliment the marquis in his name, and to present him with a commission to be his general in Silesia. Mean while, the numbers of the Scots were exaggerated to twenty thousand; and so high was the reputation of their national valour, that it put an end to the indecision of the elector of Saxony, who now joined Gustavus with all his troops, while Tilly was obliged to weaken his army by reinforcing his garrisons, which chiefly contributed to the great victory which Gustavus some days after gained at Leipzig. Though the marquis found hardly any subsistence in the country where he landed, it having been eaten up by both armies; and though he understood that Gustavus was in no condition to perform the terms he had stipulated, yet they had an interview at a place called Werben on the Elbe. This interview may in some measure be termed unfortunate. The marquis admired in Gustavus his majestic deportment and warlike figure, his presence of mind, judgment and vivacity, but disliked the haughty air and imperious manner with which those great qualities were attended, and which were the reverse of what he had experienced in his own sovereign. Perhaps he thought his
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quality of being first prince of the blood in Scotland brought him near to an equality with the conqueror of the North, who, on the other hand, disliked the independent air and reserved manner of Hamilton. The interview, however, was very polite on both sides. Gustavus acknowledged the vast services which the fame of the Scotch valour had already done to his affairs; but said, that as his chief reliance was upon the king of Great Britain, he expected that Charles would add ten thousand men to those already sent under the marquis. He apologized for not having sent the troops he had promised to Hamilton, as he durst not venture to weaken his army on the eve of a battle, which he intended to give to Tilly; but he engaged to pay all the levies which Hamilton should make in Germany. He then produced a plan of operations, for which I cannot account, though he himself said they were intended to secure his retreat, if he should be defeated. But perhaps the true reason why the Scots did not join his army was, because they were but new raised; and he thought they might not in the action answer the high idea which the public had conceived of their military prowess.

Whatever may be in this conjecture, his majesty's plan of operation was, that Hamilton should take possession of Custrin, Frankfurt, and Landsberg. The marquis did not much like this destination, as he was to march to a
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A. D. 1631. desert barren country, infected with pestilential diseases, which, by the time he reached Frankfort, actually swept off a third of his army. By this time, Gustavus had gained the great battle of Leipzig, which was attended by such a train of successes, as shook the imperial throne; but encouraged him to listen to the calls of ambition. However partial protestant historians have been in favour of Gustavus, I cannot help thinking that he acted a mean part towards his generous friend and ally Charles, who had entered into the war, distressed as his own circumstances were, chiefly in compassion to his sister and her family. Religion, and the power of the house of Austria, however strongly they might operate, could not without that motive have determined Charles to have interested himself in continental affairs, when he could not be supported by his parliament; and Gustavus had repeatedly assured him, that one of the chief objects of his expedition was the restitution of the Palatinate to its legal owner. Instead of performing that promise, he was persuaded by the elector of Saxony to evade it, and to consider the importance of his conquests, and the territories proposed to be restored. Gustavus had ordered the marquis to march into Silesia, which was then part of the Bohemian territories, and where the Palatine family had a strong interest; but he sent him only five hundred men for a reinforcement.

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The imperialists were then besieging Croffen, which was a considerable town on the borders of Silesia, held by the Swedes, who were on the point of capitulating. The marquis ordered Lesley to advance to the relief of the place; but he no sooner appeared, than the imperialists abandoned the siege, leaving behind them great part of their baggage, and some cannon. Lesley, after that, very gallantly surprized and took Guben, which was garrisoned by the imperialists, two hundred and fifty of whom were killed, besides officers; and the rest entered into the service of the marquis, who was then preparing to invest Glogau itself.

A. D. 1632.

Gustavus and the elector of Saxony disliked those operations; and the former began to consider the consequences of his auxiliaries getting footing in a country that was devoted to the Palatine family. Upon pretence that the elector of Saxony had undertaken the reduction of Silesia, Hamilton was ordered to return to Custrin. He was greatly chagrined at this, and sometimes debated with himself how far he was obliged to obey the order; but finding that Gustavus had recalled his commission as general in Silesia, he returned to Custrin. His British troops were then reduced to fifteen hundred men; but he had raised about three thousand German foot, and had been joined by a thousand Swedish horse.

His progress there.

With

A. D. 1631. With this handful, he was ordered to besiege Magdeburgh, which contained a garrison of three thousand imperialists. All the assistance he received for this difficult service was a small detachment of Swedes under Bannier, which did not make the whole of his army above seven thousand men. Though the marquis thought himself cruelly treated in being interrupted in the course of his conquests, and in being recalled from a country of plenty to one of misery and dissipation, yet he formed the blockade of Magdeburgh, having no hopes of carrying it by a regular siege. This undertaking, to all appearance, was only to amuse the marquis; for Gustavus seems to have been resolved that it should be unsuccessful.

During the blockade, the marquis had several interviews with Gustavus, whom he pressed to send him more troops; but he received only compliments and promises. Charles did not at this time distrust the sincerity of Gustavus; but thinking it pretty unaccountable that he did not act with greater vigour in the restitution of the Palatinate, he sent over Sir Henry Vane as his embassador to Germany, to remove all difficulties; but instructed him to confer with the marquis, before he had an audience of Gustavus. Vane finding this impracticable, met Gustavus at Frankfort on the Maine. His reception was civil; but he found Gustavus intractable as to the restitution of the

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the Palatinate. He demanded from Charles a reinforcement of twelve thousand men, and a subsidy of twenty-five thousand pounds a month; but pretended he could say nothing as to the Palatine's restitution to his electoral dignity, which had been granted to the house of Bavaria, and guarantied by France herself. He remitted Vane, however, to his chancellor and first minister Horn. That statesman, in the presence of Hamilton, (who had left the blockade of Magdeburgh to be present at the conferences) produced a paper, containing five demands, more haughty and exorbitant, if possible, than those proposed by the imperial court to the Palatine himself. Vane was at no loss, from the information the marquis had given him, to trace this insupportable behaviour to its source, which was no other than the ambition of Gustavus to erect a sovereignty in Germany, and to give law to the empire. Vane, by his master's orders, proposed that the marquis should be put at the head of a respectable army to march into the Palatinate; but Gustavus treated this proposal with disdain, and the conferences were broken off.

There can scarcely be a doubt that Gustavus was privately influenced in his ungenerous conduct by Richlieu, who would not suffer the king of England to have the lead in the affair

Views of
Gustavus
Adolphus.

A. D. 1631. of the Palatinate, or indeed in any other great transaction in Europe. Upon the return of Hamilton to the blockade of Magdeburgh, which he had left to the care of Lesley and Bannier, the place was on the point of capitulating, when it was known that Pappenheim, the imperial general, was advancing with an army to relieve it. Bannier was for abandoning the blockade and retiring; but Hamilton was making dispositions for fighting, when Bannier, to his great amazement, produced a commission from Gustavus, appointing him general of the Swedes and Dutch in Hamilton's army. Upon this, the latter marched the British troops under his command to Saltsa, but refused to retreat farther; and once more prepared to give Pappenheim battle, though Bannier had then marched off with the Swedes and Dutch. The spot which Hamilton, by Sir Jacob Astley's advice, had pitched upon for the scene of battle, was so advantageous, that had he been joined either by Bannier or duke Weimar, who lay in the neighbourhood, Pappenheim must have been cut off, and Magdeburgh taken. As Hamilton was inferior in strength to Pappenheim, he did not think proper to attack him; and Pappenheim's orders being only to relieve Magdeburgh, that accomplished general, finding that the place was not tenable, drew off the garrison; and the marquis taking

OF SCOTLAND.

ing possession of Magdeburgh, his little army A.D.
was ordered into very indifferent winter-
quarters about Halberstadt.

By this time, the Germans whom Hamilton Opera
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tiation
Germ
had raised, and whom Gustavus had under-
taken to pay, were ready to mutiny for mo-
ney. Upon Hamilton's remonstrating upon
the vast sums he had expended in Germany,
he was arrogantly told by the Swedish chan-
cellor, that those sums did not come out of
his pocket, but that of his master. "But (re-
plied the marquis with some quickness) if it
does, I am to account for it to my master."
Hamilton, thus finding himself no longer at
the head of a general's command, reduced his
army to two regiments, the one English, and
the other Scotch; the first commanded by co-
lonel Ballenden, and the other by colonel Ha-
milton. These were incorporated into duke
Weimar's army, while all this summer, Hamil-
ton served as a volunteer; but he sent over
Sir Jacob Astley to inform Charles of his situ-
ation; upon which he ordered the marquis
and Vane to return home.

No sooner did Gustavus know that those or-
ders were arrived, than he would have made
amends for his former haughtiness; but Charles
had made an unfortunate choice of his embas-
sader. Vane, at the bottom, did not wish to
succeed in his negotiation; and therefore kept
strictly to the letter of his instructions. His

A. D. 1632. cold, phlegmatic, positive manner sometimes threw Gustavus into indecent passions. At other times, he offered to refer all the differences between Vane and his chancellor to Hamilton's arbitration. Hamilton, who certainly wished well to his master, knew that Gustavus meant nothing by that compliment; and could easily perceive that Vane's heart was averse to the negotiation. He pressed to be employed in the Palatinate in a station suitable to his birth and character; but his request was always evaded by Gustavus, who offered to conclude a league offensive and defensive with Charles; but still insisted that he should have the sole management of the measures that were to restore tranquillity to Germany. Vane peremptorily refused to enter upon any such negotiation, which was inconsistent with all former treaties; and the conferences breaking up abruptly, Hamilton and Vane returned to England.

I have been the more diffuse upon the subject of Hamilton's expedition to Germany, because it seems to be misunderstood by most authors, who have represented it as a feeble ineffectual effort made by Charles for his sister and her family, without considering that it became so only through the intrigues of Richieu, and the jealous ambition of Gustavus himself, who certainly thought that Charles was a richer and more powerful prince than he really

really was. To have given the British troops any employment of importance in the recovery of the Palatinate, might have disconcerted the views of both ; for Charles, in case of success, would have had the credit of being the arbiter of Christendom ; and had his brother-in-law been restored to his dominions by his means, the views of Gustavus must have been disappointed. During the whole negotiation, the dissimulation of Gustavus was equal to his ambition ; for he brought the elector Palatine, notwithstanding the shameful demands he had made to Vane, into a belief, that Gustavus would generously, as soon as it was consistent with his situation, restore him to his dominions. Gustavus saw his error when it was too late. The money, credit, and assistance of Charles, had done him vast services ; and had he not, through his ungovernable passions, broken off the connection, he might not have been driven to the straits, which some months after cost him his life.

Charles had not as yet received the crown of Scotland ; and he thought that coronation was an indispensable ceremony. He was at this time entirely in the hands of Laud ; and was glad of so plausible a pretext for visiting Scotland in person, that he might carry that zealot's detestable schemes into execution. The Scotch nobility had, for some time, warded off this visit with abundance of address ; but

Charles

1633.
Charles vi-
sits Scot-
land.

A. D. 1633. Charles was now resolved to render it as splendid as possible; and, in all events, to carry with him Laud, to serve him as the director of his conscience. Having appointed the lord Cottington to sign all dispatches in his absence, and issued some proclamations relating to his journey, he set out on the eleventh of May, attended by the marquis of Hamilton, his master of horse, the earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, Southampton, Holland, and the flower of the English nobility, who all vied with each other in the splendor of their equipages. As some readers may be curious to know the particulars of this pompous cavalcade, he will find it, and likewise an account of his entry into Edinburgh, in the note, from an unexceptionable authority *. His stages,

* "About the eleventh of May this year, with a goodly train of attendants, his majesty took his journey from London towards Scotland. His train consisted of thirteen noblemen, Mr. Vice-chamberlain, secretary of state, master of the prince's purse, two bishops, a clerk of the closet, two gentlemen ushers of the prince's chamber, three gentlemen ushers, quarter waiters, six grooms of his bed-chamber, two cup-bearers, two carvers, two sewers, two esquires of the body, three grooms of the privy-chamber, two serjeants at arms, two sewers of the chamber, one master of requests, six chaplains, two physicians, two surgeons, one apothecary, one barber, one groom-porter, three for his robes, four for the wardrobe, seven pages of the bed-chamber, three pages of the presence, sixty-one yeomen of the guards, two cross bows, two grooms of the chamber, nine messengers, six trumpeters, eight cooks, forty-two skewerers and turn-broaches, seventeen musicians, subdean of his majesty's chapel, four vestry-men, the knight harbinger, and master comptroller, With this gallant train came his majesty from London to Berwick, the eighth day of June, where he stayed until Wednesday
in

after passing Berwick, were short and slow; and the noblemen whom he visited entertained

in the morning, the twelfth day, from thence to Dunblaw, one night, then to Seton, one night, and from that to Dalkeith one night, in both which places his majesty received very magnificent entertainments from the earl of Winton at Seton, and from the earl of Morton at Dalkeith, from which his majesty went directly to Edinburgh on Saturday, the fifteenth day of June, where he entered with all his train in a very triumphant and royal manner, with a most splendid equipage.

“ The order of king Charles the first's triumphal entry into the city of Edinburgh. Entering at Castle-Port, and marching through the city to his palace of Holyrood-house, for many ages this kingdom had not seen a more glorious and stately entry, the streets being all railed and fanded, the chief places where he passed were set out with stately triumphal arches, obelisks, pictures, artificial mountains, adorned with choice music, and divers other costly shows. First, there went on horseback, squires two and two, esquires, knights, his majesty's servants of the best sort, lords, earls eldest sons, bishops two and two on velvet foot cloths, viscounts, earls two and two, archbishop of Glasgow alone, earl of Haddington lord privy-seal, earl of Morton lord treasurer, viscount Dupplin lord chancellor, five serjeants at arms, with gilded maces, York herald of England, six Scotch heralds two and two, Norroy king of arms of England, master of requests, two gentlemen ushers, and in the middle betwixt them, Lyon king of arms, on rich foot cloth, earl Marshal of Scotland with his baton of office in his hand, duke of Lenox great chamberlain of Scotland, and of his majesty's household, earl of Errol lord great constable of Scotland bearing a sheathed sword before his majesty. Then came the king's majesty, riding on a barbary, with an exceeding caparison of velvet, embroidered with gold and oriental pearls, the bosses of bridle, crupper, and tye being richly set with emeralds, rubies, and diamonds, and on his head a panache of red and white plumes. After the king, followed James marquis of Hamilton, master of his majesty's horse, riding on a horse richly mounted, and after him followed four gentlemen of his majesty's equerry, leading a horse richly furnished with caparison, and foot cloth of white sattin embroidered with gold, and stones very beautiful to behold. Next came the English noblemen two and two, gallantly and richly mounted, gentlemen of his majesty's privy-chamber two and two in order. Theophilus earl of Suffolk captain of the

A. D. 1639. him with vast magnificence. His entry into Edinburgh exceeded every thing of that kind that had been known in Scotland before ; and the fame of the pageants and preparations drew from the continent abundance of spectators. He was crowned at Holyrood-house on the eighteenth of June. During the ceremony, Laud gave a remarkable specimen of his frantic zeal ; for the archbishop of Glasgow refusing to be cloathed in the theatrical robes assigned to him, was forcibly pulled from his seat by Laud, who ordered Maxwell, the violent bishop of Ross, to supply it. Laud preached the coronation sermon, and declaimed furiously in favour of a farther conformity of the church of Scotland to that of England, in discipline and ceremonies. It was easy for the people to consider all those declarations and appearances as intended to introduce the English worship into Scotland, for which Laud came prepared ; for he intended to publish a book of common prayer for the use of the church of Scotland, in a form more exceptionable than that of England to puritans and presbyterians, and for which the common people of Scotland had an invincible aversion.

the pensioners ; gentlemen pensioners with their gilded partizans two and two in order. Henry earl of Holland, captain of his majesty's guard. Lastly, came the yeomen of the guard two and two with their partizans in their hands." Balfour's MSS.

The

A. D. 1633.

Proceedings
of the par-
liament
there.

The business of the parliament was divided under two heads. The first related to money, and the second to the resumption of crownlands. Charles, at this time, depended chiefly on the earl of Traquair for the management of his officers in Scotland. This minister represented to him, that the tax upon sweet wines, which he had granted to the marquis of Hamilton, brought in more ready money than any other in Scotland, and advised him to recall his grant. Charles was somewhat of Traquair's opinion; but Hamilton, who had hurt his fortune by his campaign in Germany, must have been irretrievably ruined, had he not obtained an equivalent. Some of his friends advised him not to submit; but he cheerfully gave up his lease, and was indemnified by the money of two taxations, which he was to receive, and for which, after deducting his own debts, he was to be accountable to the treasury. Those taxations, one of which was the sixteenth penny of all the annual rents, seem to have been granted without opposition. But the other proceedings in this parliament laid the foundation for all the after-miseries of this reign in Scotland. The lords of the articles brought in a bill for confirming the royal prerogative, as it had been settled in the year 1606; but tacked to it another bill, which passed in 1609, by which the late king was impowered to prescribe apparel to churchmen with their own consent.

A.D. 1633. According to bishop Burnet, the passing of this act was a personal compliment to king James; and it never had been executed in his reign. Another act was prepared for a resumption of church-lands and tythes, which had been alienated in the minority of the former reign; but it was pretended that this last act was no more than a matter of form, and intended to keep in awe the members of the opposition. In Scotland, the lords and commons sat in one house; and the votes of both were of the same validity, but delivered seriatim, one by one. Charles was so intent on carrying his point, that he remained in the house during the whole debate; and pulling out of his pocket a list of the members, "I have all your names here," (said he) and will know who will do me service, and who will not, this day." This tyrannical declaration did not daunt the members. They offered to confirm the act of 1606, relating to the prerogative; but objected to the act of 1609 being tacked to it. A motion was made by the earl of Rothes, that the acts might be divided; and the members in general seemed disposed for a debate; but were silenced by Charles, who peremptorily ordered them to vote, but not to argue. The votes being collected, one Hay clerk register, whose office it was to examine the division and declare the majority, said the question was carried in the affirmative. The earl of Rothes insisted, that the

ma-

majority was for the negative. Charles said that the report of the clerk register, whom Balfour represents as being an abject tool of power, was to be decisive; and that if Rothes persisted in his opposition, he was to stand to the consequences, which were, that he should suffer the penalty of death, which the register must have suffered, had he failed in his proof.

A. D. 1643

This severity daunted Rothes, and the bill received the royal assent; but nothing less than absolute infatuation could have prevented Charles from seeing that he lost more than he gained by carrying his favourite points in a manner so tyrannical and arbitrary. The reader can easily account for this, when he reflects, that his evil genius, Laud, was still at his elbow, and prompting him to all his madness. We have in Balfour's Manuscript a curious and important paper, which had been presented by some clergy of presbyterian principles, complaining of the innovations, alterations, and abuses, that had crept into the church of Scotland. Hay, by his office, and according to a proclamation for that purpose, was bound to have laid the paper before the lords of the articles; but the ministers finding that it had been suppressed, presented it to Charles by the hands of Hog, one of their brethren, while he was at Dalkeith, and he read it over; but paid it no farther regard, though it was drawn up with great strength and precision of law and reason.

Impolitic
conduct of
Charles.

A. D. 1633. The clergy were not single in their remonstrances upon the arbitrary proceedings of Charles; for some of the most moderate of the nobility and chief gentry endeavoured to prevent, if possible, his ruin. The arbitrary publication of acts in defiance of a majority in parliament, they complained, put an end to all civil liberty, and rendered that assembly a mere piece of pageantry. According to bishop Guthrie, before the parliament met, a paper had been drawn up by one Hague, the king's solicitor, concerning his majesty's behaviour in parliament. This paper was revised and altered by lord Balmerino, though I have reason to believe that two papers, pretty much to the same purpose, had been drawn up at the same time, one by his lordship, and another by Hague; and that the substance of both was afterwards digested into one petition. Be that as it will, lord Rothes, to prevent matters coming to extremity, privately carried the paper to Charles, who having read it, returned it, saying, "No more of this, my lord, I command you." The authoritative tone with which Charles delivered himself intimidated the party, who intended to have presented the petition with great formality, and it was laid aside for that time; but I shall soon resume the subject.

He touches
for the
king's evil.

While Charles was thus doing all he could to forfeit the affections of his Scotch subjects, the English in his train, some of whom were afterwards

wards the most active in opposition to his measures, easily perceived how much they had been imposed upon, when they were told by the Scotch courtiers at London, that all the chief nobility and gentry in Scotland were for the king's measures, and that the presbyterian party was a despicable handful of men. Charles himself more than possibly was under the same delusion; for he proceeded as if he intended to provoke the presbyterians into rebellion. On the twenty-fourth of June, St. John the Baptist's day, he went in great state to his chapel-royal, and after making a solemn offertory at the altar, he performed the ridiculous ceremony of touching a hundred persons for the king's evil; putting about every one of their necks, says Balfour, a piece of gold coined for the purpose, hung at a white silk ribband. Upon the rise of the parliament, four days after, Charles visited Linlithgow, Sterling, Dumfermling, (the place of his birth) Perth, and Falkland; from whence, returning on the tenth of July, and crossing the Forth in a boat, he narrowly escaped being drowned (though it is said there was no storm at land) by getting on board one of his ships; but a boat attending him, with eight of his servants, some plate and money was lost *. The ship carried Charles to

Balfour's
MSS.

* The author of the history of Gordon says, that thirty-five persons perished. The storm seems to have been a sudden squall of wind.

Leith;

A.D. 1633. Leith; and it is said by some, that in gratitude for his deliverance, he made a vow to erect a bishopric at Edinburgh. That he did erect such a bishopric is certain; but neither Rushworth nor archbishop Laud in his Diary mentions the vow, though they do the storm. One Forbes, whom Burnet represents to have been a very learned pious person, but suspected of popery, was the first bishop of Edinburgh, and the see was endowed with particular privileges. The reader will find in the note * a list of creations made by Charles while he was in Scotland. He

The bishopric of Edinburgh founded.

* To honour his coronation, first parliament, and place of his birth, he created one marquis, ten earls, two viscounts, and eight lords, which were, William earl of Angus, created marquis of Douglas in his majesty's withdrawing-chamber at Holy-rood house, seventeenth day of June, George Hay, viscount Dupplin, lord chancellor of Scotland, created earl of Kinnoul, William Crichton viscount of Aire, lord Sanquhar, created earl of Dumfries. William Douglas viscount Drumlanrig, earl of Queensberry. William Alexander, viscount Canada, lord Alexander of Menstria, created earl of Striveling, principal secretary to his majesty for Scotland. John Bruce lord Killose, created earl of Elgin. David lord Carnegie created earl of Southesk. John Stuart lord Traquair, created earl of Traquair. Sir Robert Kerr, created earl of Ancram, lord Nisbet, Lang-Newton and Dolphinston. John lord Weems, created earl of Weems and lord Elcho. William Ramsay, lord Ramsay, created earl of Dalhousie. The two viscounts were, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, knight, created viscount Kenmure, lord Gordon of Lochinvar. Sir Robert Douglas of Spott, knight, created viscount Belhaven, lord Douglas of Spott. The eight lords were Patrick Oliphant, created lord Oliphant. Sir James Livingston, second brother to Alexander earl of Linlithgow, created lord Almont. Sir James Johnston, lord Johnston. Sir Alexander Forbes, created lord Pittligo. Sir David Lindsay created lord Balcarras. Sir John Fraser of Muhellos, created lord Fraser. Balfour's MSS. Annals.

be-

began now to be tired of his abode in that country, as foreseeing the cabals that must be formed by the lords of erection, and others who possessed church-lands, to prevent his resuming them. After the rising of the parliament, and paying some visits to a few of his favourites, he returned to Berwick, where he left the greatest part of his train, and posted on with sixteen domestics to Greenwich, where the queen had been brought to bed of the unfortunate James the seventh some days before. One of the reasons of this uncommon dispatch was, to prevent any factions being formed for a successor to the worthy archbishop Abbot, who was now dead; for he immediately filled up the vacancy with Laud.

A.D. 1613.

The general discontent of Scotland when Charles left it, and the spirit that had been raised on account of religion, encouraged lord Balmerino (the greatest part of whose estate had been church property) to resume the thoughts of procuring a formidable subscription to the petition, which, as I have already mentioned, had been set aside. Hague, who was the original mover of it, had retired to Holland, where he owned the fact; but Balmerino talking with a lawyer, one Deanuis, the latter secured the petition, which had been interlined by Balmerino's hand; and showing the same to Hay of Naughton, who hated Balmerino, Naughton carried it to the archbishop

Trial and
condemna-
tion of lord
Balmerino,

1634.

of

A. D. 1634. of St. Andrew's, who sent it up to Charles, and he immediately gave orders to his council to call Balmerino and Denmuir before them. The petition being read, the former owned that it was a true copy of the paper he gave to Denmuir; upon which he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and preparations were made for his trial. The method of proceeding against state criminals in matters of libels in Scotland, when a peer was concerned, was before the lord justice-general, and a court which was distinct from the jury. The majority of the jury (which consisted of fifteen) were lords of parliament; but they were to give their verdict upon the fact only, the matter of law being reserved for the court. As it was foreseen that it would be very difficult to convict Balmerino, the earl of Traquair, who was supposed to be the shrewdest man, and the best speaker in Scotland, and was then lord-treasurer, was entrusted with the management of the trial, every step of which was inhuman and arbitrary, and so illegal, that Balmerino must have been acquitted, had not Sir Robert Spotfwood, president of the college of justice, and son to the archbishop, Sir John Hay, clerk-register, and Sir James Learmount, been, by the interest of the bishops, joined as assessors to the justice-general *. The matter continued

* Balfour, whom I take to be a better authority than Burnet, says, that before those assessors were added, the justice-general, who was earl of Errol, was the sole judge. Balfour mentions
four

many months under debate; but, at last, the A. D. 1634. bishops and the court-party prevailed; so that Balmerino was found guilty, though but by one voice, "First, in keeping and concealing the said libel, contrary to the acts of parliament and laws of the land, and not revealing the same. Secondly, in not apprehending of the libeller, being in his power, but furthering his escape. Thirdly, in being art and part of the said libel, as evidently appeared by a copy of the same, interlined with the said lord's hand." Upon this, sentence of death was passed upon the convict; but execution was stayed, till the king's pleasure was known.

The unpopularity, cruelty, and wickedness of this trial was such, that the people of Scotland had resolved to set the prisoner free by force, and to revenge his death on the court and the eight jurors; but Traquair represented the general disposition of the Scots in such terms, that Charles thought proper to pardon Balmerino. Balfour thinks, that Traquair acted against his own judgment upon this prosecution, and that privately he was an enemy to the bishops; but was forced to comply, to save his post. This is the more probable, on account of the enmity which some of that order afterwards expressed against that statesman. Traquair seems, however, to have been

who is pardoned.

four assessors; but no more than the three I have named are in the criminal register.

A.D. 1634. a man of great ambition and dissimulation. He aspired at being the sole minister of Scotland; and upon a private difference between him and the chancellor earl of Kinnoul, who, in fact, had raised him, he suggested to Charles, that the chancellor had been unfaithful in his accounts. The latter, however, upon the council's inspecting them, cleared himself from all imputation; but soon after died; and Charles gave the great seal of Scotland to Spotswood archbishop of St. Andrew's. I have, more than once, done justice to the moderation of that prelate; but it seems to have been a little warped by the ambition he had of being first minister of Scotland, which, in fact, he was, by the great seal and the primacy being centered in his person; though the lord Lorn, son to the earl of Argyle, a man of great weight and interest in Scotland, aspired to be chancellor.

Archbishop
of St. An-
drew's
made chan-
cellor.

1635.

The preferment of a churchman to the first civil office in the kingdom, very justly gave the public of Scotland a melancholy prospect both of religion and civil government. The Scots were no strangers to Laud's frantic zeal; and they could not but suspect that Spotswood had got the great seal by his abject compliances with that bigot. Such of them, who judged only by what they saw, knew no difference between Laud's episcopacy and popery itself. His ceremonies, his pomp, genuflections,

tions, the splendid robes he had introduced A.D. 1633 among the ecclesiastics, his church music, and other pageantries, by men, even of sense, but not deeply versed in church learning, were thought to be so many indications of a settled design to undo all that had been done by the reformation; and this notion was of excellent service to those who dreaded the scourge of resumptions. To complete the ruin of the royal interest in Scotland, Laud was solicited by the furious bishops to prevail with Charles to take the treasurer's staff from Traquair, whom they disliked and suspected, and give it to bishop Maxwell. The same prelates, (as is thought) by Laud's instigation, not contented with the English liturgy being introduced into the royal chapel, petitioned Charles that it should be used in all churches throughout Scotland, until another liturgy, more adapted to the primitive christianity, or, to speak more properly, to the doctrines of the church of Rome, could be drawn up. The wise moderate part of the prelacy opposed this innovation, and foretold the consequences of rendering the use, even, of the English liturgy more general. Traquair, who was a thorough courtier, easily perceiving that it would be impossible for him to stand his ground with Charles, without employing the deepest dissimulation, pretended a violent zeal for all that Laud proposed. By this, he recommended

Furious
measures of
Laud.

A.D. 1635. himself to effectually to the young bishops, (who, perhaps, were piqued at Maxwell's proposed preferment) that they represented him to Laud as the only man in Scotland who could carry through his schemes. These were in such forwardness, that a book of canons for the church of Scotland was actually finished, and carried by Maxwell to London, where it was confirmed under the great seal; and Maxwell promised that the like dispatch should be used in composing the new liturgy.

1636.
Traquair
made first
minister in
Scotland.

Upon the return of Maxwell to Scotland, and the design of composing and introducing a new liturgy taking air, the people were thrown into a dangerous ferment; and Traquair had dissembled so well with the young bishops, that they requested him to repair to London, and be their agent at court, furnishing him at the same time with letters to Laud, as being the only person in Scotland, whose zeal for the church could get the better of the prepossessions and coldness of the old bishops. Laud, by this time, was convinced how dangerous it would be to give the treasurer's staff to a prelate; and Traquair acted his part so artfully, that he was introduced to Charles to the greatest advantage by Laud, whom he seemed to outvie in zeal for the proposed innovations. Charles therefore committed to Traquair the management of his Scotch clergy; and on the tenth of November,

Laud

A. D. 1636.

Laud wrote to the archbishop of St. Andrew's, ordering him, and Maxwell bishop of Ross, to do nothing in ecclesiastical affairs without privately consulting with Traquair; and at the same time that they should avoid all appearance of having any concern with him. By another letter from Laud to the archbishop, he says, that the king was much displeased with the bishop of Aberdeen for allowing a public fast through his diocese to be kept upon the Lord's day; expressing his majesty's will, that no bishops should there presume to command or suffer any fast to be kept on that day, or on any other, without the special leave and command of the king; and that if the canons were not already printed, they should make a canon purposely against this unworthy custom.

I have been the more particular as to the conduct of Laud on this occasion, because it plainly proves that he acted as metropolitan of Scotland as well as of England, only with the formality of a subordination to the king. This usurping power had a wonderful effect on the nation of Scotland, and even on those who were the best inclined to episcopacy. They could not bear to see the metropolitical claims of an English archbishop over the church of Scotland revived; so that it may be said with great truth, that if we except the hot-headed prelates, Laud had not in Scotland a friend to his intended innovations. Traquair,

Laud usurps
a metropol-
itan power
there.

A. D. 1636. quair, whom, after bishop Guthrie *, I believe to have been an enemy to prelates, continued to profess his zeal for the new-modelled worship almost to an enthusiastic degree, well knowing that they could not be more effectually ruined than by prosecuting Laud's schemes. About the nineteenth of April, the new liturgy was finished, and sent up to Charles, who, without consulting any ecclesiastical judicature in Scotland, approved it, and sent it back with a sett of instructions addressed to the archbishops and bishops of Scotland, which were purely ecclesiastical. One of them was, "That, in the calendar, you keep such catholic saints as in the English; that you pester it not with too many; but such as you insert of the peculiar saints of that our kingdom, that they be of the most approved; and here to have regard to those of the blood royal, and such holy bishops in every see most renowned; but in no case to omit St. George

* He was bishop of Dunkeld, and author of the "Memoirs containing an Impartial Relation of the Affairs of Scotland, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the year 1637, to the Death of King Charles the First." This author, from his writings, appears to have been a moderate sensible prelate, and to have had a head well turned for public affairs, though he does not seem to be entirely free from party prepossessions. His Memoirs, however, are more so than any we meet with of that age and country; but they are posthumous; and I always distrust such publications, unless recourse can be had to the original. There is additional reason why we ought to be cautious with regard to those Memoirs, because they were not published till the beginning of queen Anne's reign; and the editor Ferguson, the famous plotter, was a man of more than doubtful character.

and

and St. Patrick." Those instructions are dated from Newmarket.

A. D. 1636.
Oct. 18.

Neither bishop Guthrie, nor any of the Scotch historians, have been sufficiently explicit as to the part which Richlieu bore in fomenting the public discontents at this time. From state-papers it appears, that he had agents who insinuated themselves, under different appearances, with all parties both in Scotland and England; some of them in the shape of violent Laudians; and others of furious presbyterians; but all of them employed to widen the difference between Charles and his people. Richlieu had then an intention to divide the Austrian Netherlands between the French and the Dutch; a scheme to which Charles could not be reconciled; so that the Frenchman fearing he might employ his arms to disappoint it, thought it necessary to give them a diversion in his own dominions. But before I proceed farther, it is absolutely proper, for the sake of perspicuity, to review the state of parties at this time in Scotland, and to distinguish the motives of the general opposition which the king's measures met with in that country.

Richlieu fomented the distractions of Scotland.

The first party I shall name consisted of the remains of the Roman catholics, among whom were some noble families, and several persons of desperate fortunes, some of whom were gained over by Richlieu. As they were obnoxious to the public, they concerned themselves very little

A review of parties there.

A.D. 1636. little in the affairs of government; and generally lived retired upon their own estates; but were well affected to the person of Charles, unless when they were corrupted by Richieu. The next party I shall mention were those who wished well to monarchy, and would have conformed to a moderate episcopacy; but could not bear to see their country ruled by a foreign prelate, and Laud giving dictates to the church of Scotland. This party were masters of more property than any one of the other; and therefore they were jealous of the king's civil claims, which he carried into despotism. The new book of canons was stuffed with the most execrable tenets in favour of arbitrary power, ecclesiastical prerogatives, and auricular confession; and the king's tyrannical behaviour when in Scotland, was still recent in their memories. The third party were men who were entirely indifferent with regard to religion, and who had no other care but to prevent their estates being resumed. The fourth consisted of violent presbyterians, some of them the disciples, and all of them the followers, of Knox. They were ignorant, bold, and enthusiastic opposers of episcopacy in every shape; and were managed with great address by the last mentioned class; so that when they were joined together, they were an overmatch both in the field and parliament, for the other two parties, especially as the king had very unaccountably omitted

The bishops
are be-
trayed.

ted to support his arbitrary measures by a body of troops. It happened unfortunately for Scotland, that some of the principal nobility, such as the earls of Kinnoul, Mar, Errol; and the lord Melvil, men of moderate principles, were at this time carried off by a kind of epidemical disease. Lord Lorn was disgusted with the court; and Sir Thomas Hope, who was the king's advocate, and therefore ought to have been the most active minister in Scotland, was, in his heart, an enemy to the bishops; and the disaffected party in England had sent down one Borthwick, a firewd cunning man, to be their agent in Scotland, and to spirit up the presbyterians, with large promises of assistance, to oppose episcopacy.

Charles proceeded as if the people of Scotland had been unanimously disposed to receive the new liturgy. By his order, the lords of the privy-council charged, by proclamation at the market-crosses of all the head burghs, all subjects to conform themselves to the liturgy; and that two copies of the book of common-prayer should be provided for every parish in the kingdom. The twenty-third day of July 1637, was appointed for the day when it was to be first used at Edinburgh; and it was by the privy-council enjoined, that the two books should be provided for every parish under pain of the minister's being declared a rebel, and undergoing forfeiture of goods. Those orders

Proclamation
tion for re-
ceiving the
liturgy

1637.

A. D. 1637. being intimated from the pulpit, created so ungovernable a spirit of opposition among the common people, that three ministers, Henderson of Leuchers, Bruce of King's Barns, and Hamilton of Newburn, in the name of their brethren, presented a very strong remonstrance against the proposed liturgy to the council, and against the penalty annexed to the non-providing the books. The council, of whom nine were bishops, was intimidated by the numerous attendants of the remonstrants, and were so childish as to explain their proclamation concerning the service-books, by declaring, that they only meant the books should be bought; thereby intimating that they should not be used in public worship.

Balfour's
Annals.

which oc-
casions vio-
lent com-
motions.

It has been observed, that, excepting the bishops, all the other members of the privy-council were disaffected to the intended innovations. Charles had designed that the new worship should commence on Easter-day; but the delay was procured by Hope, who knew that the party of the presbyterians were not yet ripe for action. I shall not follow bishop Guthrie, and other Scotch writers, through all the particulars of the intrigues and interviews between the ministers and their flocks, of both sexes; for women, or men in women's cloaths, were the most active agents of the party. When the day appointed came, the audience in St. Giles, or the high-church of Edinburgh, was
.....very

very respectable. It consisted, among others, of the two archbishops, several bishops, and other privy-counsellors, the lords of the session, and the magistrates of the town-council of Edinburgh. Hannah, dean of Edinburgh, was appointed to read the service, and the bishop was to preach. No sooner had the former opened the book, than the lower people, who had assembled in vast numbers, saluted him with such volleys of execrations, and other marks of abhorrence of what he was about, that he durst not proceed; and the bishop of Edinburgh stepped into his desk, that he might try what he could to quiet the disturbance. His appearance served only to give it fresh fury. The women threw their joint-stools, their bibles, or whatever came to their hand, at his head. The great officers of state next interposed, but with no better success; but the mob having some respect for their magistrates, whom they knew to be their friends, was by them, partly by force, and partly by persuasion, turned out of the church, and the doors were locked. The dean then resumed his function; but the doors and windows of the church were so violently assaulted with sticks and stones, that he could not be heard. His voice was drowned by the outcries of "A pope! an antichrist! pull him down!" and tho' the magistrates had authority enough to prevent the mob breaking into the church, yet their fury against the persons of the bishops continued

A. D. 1637 tinued as great as ever. The service being ended, the bishop had almost been assassinated between the church and his lodging, but was with great difficulty saved by the earl of Wemyss, and his attendants. The tumults in the other churches in Edinburgh, where the new liturgy was read, were but little inferior to that of St. Giles.

In the afternoon such precautions were taken, that the service was celebrated without much disturbance; but when it was over, the bishop of Edinburgh was attacked in the earl of Roxburgh's coach with stones; and had he not been guarded by that earl's servants, who were provided with arms, he could not have reached his lodging alive. Next day, the council met, and issued a proclamation, prohibiting, under pain of death, all tumultuous meetings in Edinburgh. The magistrates of that city were enjoined to use their utmost endeavours to apprehend the rioters of the former day; and the privy-counsellors were so ill-advised, that in the letter they wrote to the king upon the occasion, they represented the tumults that had happened as being raised by a factious inconsiderable mob, whom they could easily quiet. Traquair, in a letter to the marquis of Hamilton, which bishop Burnet has preserved, lays the greatest part of the blame on the fiery zeal and intemperate behaviour of the bishops. The council in their letter had desired Charles to call some of their
own

was number, or of the bishops to London, to lay before him the state of affairs in Scotland; but Traquair thought he ought to be very cautious in the choice of his messengers. Though the reader may see the indifferent opinion I entertain of Laud's Scotch bishops, yet when their situation is considered, the root of the opposition Charles met with lay between himself and Laud.

The archbishop of St. Andrew's, by orders from court, had begun a criminal process against the two ministers Henderson and Bruce, for not reading the liturgy. Henderson had formerly been of the episcopal persuasion; and was considered as a man of learning, and the ablest politician of all the clergy. As they knew the firmness of the ground on which they stood, they boldly presented a petition to the council, that the proceedings against them should be suspended. Maxwell was the first who gave his voice in the affirmative; and he was seconded by the archbishop of St. Andrew's. It was no wonder if the rest of the council followed the example of those two leading churchmen; and a resolution was taken to recommend the consideration of the petition to the king, and that it was not proper to press the reading of the service-book, till his majesty's pleasure was farther known. A letter was drawn up to Charles in those terms; and the petitioners were promised to receive an answer by the twentieth of Sep-

A.D. 1537. September. This letter was signed by the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the earls of Morton, Wigton, Southesk, Traquair, Roxburgh, Perth, and Lauderdale, and the bishops of Edinburgh and Galloway, besides the chief officers of state.

Balfour's
MSS.

Charles returned a very bitter answer to the council's representation, vindicating the affections of his good people of Scotland, and accusing the cowardice or coolness of his council and the magistrates of Edinburgh, for all that had happened. He concluded with a peremptory order, that every bishop should command the book to be read in his diocese, as the bishops of Ross and Dunblain had already done; and that no burgh should chuse any magistrate, who did not conform to the same. He likewise rejected the request of the council, that he should send for any of their number.

When the privy-counsellors met to consider of a reply to this letter, they were attended by large bodies, headed by the nobility and gentry from every corner of the kingdom, with petitions against the service-book, the whole amounting to sixty-eight petitions. The duke of Lenox happened to be then in Scotland, and was present in council when the earls of Sutherland and Wemys, who appeared in the name of the other petitioners, were told that the petitions should be taken into consideration; and the duke received from the council a full state of affairs to be laid before his majesty. In short,

A. D. 1637.

short, Laud's bishops were now, in a manner, left to themselves; and Maxwell, who was the most forward among them, not having courage to stand the tempest, retired to his bishopric of Ross, as did several others to their respective dioceses. Their defection served Traquair to excellent purpose, as the old bishops were totally against the introduction of the new liturgy; and a great majority of the lay counsellors were privately of the same mind; while none but the bishops of Edinburgh, Galloway, and Dunblain, of all the order, had the courage to remain at Edinburgh.

An account of those proceedings from Traquair struck Laud with astonishment, especially with regard to the conduct of Maxwell and the archbishop of St. Andrew's; and he sent Traquair a very peevish letter upon the subject. Maxwell, and Laud's bishops, on the other hand, perceiving that Traquair had not in the council made the opposition they expected to the delay, or, as Laud called it, interdiction, more than suspected that they had been betrayed by Traquair; though that minister still affected such a zeal for their order, that he and the bishop of Edinburgh narrowly escaped being torn to pieces on the streets of Edinburgh by the populace. The earls of Rothes, Cassils, Eglington, Hume, Lothian, and Wemyss; the lords Lindsay, Yester, Balmerino, Cranston, and Loudon, with numbers of the
leading

Laud astonished at the opposition to his measures.

A. D. 1637. leading gentry and burgesſes all over the kingdom, openly declared themſelves againſt the liturgy; and in this they were countenanced by the ſilence or acquieſcence of the old prelates. Hope, the king's advocate, was conſulted on every occaſion, how far they might go, without being guilty of overt acts of treaſon. Regular committees and correſpondencies of the party were formed all over the kingdom; and a paper, juſtifying or explaining their proceedings, was ſent to Sir William Alexander, ſecond earl of Stirling, and ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, to be laid before the king. I cannot, after all, be of opinion, that the heads of this oppoſition meant to aboliſh episcopacy. They thought that the king's principles and proceedings were incompatible with the enjoyment of civil as well as religious liberty; and they certainly diſliked the great ſway which the biſhops had obtained in the privy-council. Had Charles acted with the leaſt degree of moderation with regard to their petition, which could in no ſenſe have affected the juſt rights of ſovereignty; had he even been contented, for the preſent, to order a ſuſpenſion of his unpopular acts relating to the liturgy, the petitioners would have departed in quiet to their reſpective homes.

Miſtaken
meaſures of
Charles.

Charles, inſtead of following this wiſe moderate conduct, on the ninth of October ordered his Scotch privy-council to diſſolve the
meeting

meeting of the council-day, on which they were to have given an answer to the petitioners, to punish the authors of the tumults at Edinburgh, to adjourn the council to Linlithgow, and to order all the subjects, who were waiting at Edinburgh for an answer to the petition, to repair to their respective dwellings, under pain of rebellion. These frantic orders served only to encrease the storm; and when the council met at Linlithgow, it was so high, that the members dispatched new representations, on the necessity of moderation, to Charles. The earl of Roxburgh, who was lord privy-seal, about the same time, went to London, to give Charles a true idea of the situation of Scotland, which he seems to have performed with great candour. Ramsay and Rollock, two of the ministers of Edinburgh, who had hitherto been neutral, now joined the petitioners; and it is sufficient to say, that the king's proclamation had no manner of effect; for the petitioners, instead of dispersing themselves, were hourly encreasing, till their outrages against the bishops, who remained at Edinburgh, and the ministers of state, whom they considered as their enemies, surpassed all description.

Balmerino and Henderfon were the chief managers of their secret intrigues; the former with the laity, and the latter with the clergy; and they now found their party so strong, that

A.D. 1637. Henderson laid a proposal before the bishops: "That whereas they had formerly petitioned against the service-book, they might now take in the bishops, whom they complain of as underminers of religion, and crave justice to be done on them." Many of the ministers dissented from this proposition, and said, that the removal of the service-book was their only object; but that they had no quarrel with the order of bishops. That order was, however, the chief grievance in the eyes of some of the nobility, though they had not before ventured to avow it; and I am of opinion, that had episcopacy been kept within its former bounds, they would have been silent even upon that head. The earls of Rothes and Loudon put themselves at the head of this opposition; and being informed that the ministers were not so pliable as had been expected, they repaired to their meeting, where they were so active, that the challenge (as it was called) against the bishops was signed by the majority, and copies of it circulated all over the kingdom, to be subscribed by the clergy who were absent, to be presented to the council on the fifteenth of November. This subscription was a watch-word for the party, who, besides their own enthusiastic zeal, saw themselves now headed by many of the chief nobility; and among others by the earl of Montrose, who so greatly distinguished himself afterwards against

Henderson
demands
the abolition
of the
order of bi-
shops.

against them, and was looked upon then to A.D. 1637.
 be the most promising young nobleman in Europe. He had lately returned from his travels; and having been presented to Charles, he met with a reception, by that solemn, formal, prince, which had disgusted him.

Matters were in this ferment in Scotland, where the council sat sometimes at Dalkeith, sometimes at Stirling, and often at Linlithgow, when the earl of Roxburgh returned with a letter from Charles to the council, informing the members that he was fully apprized of his royal pleasure. A proclamation was soon after sent down, declaring the king's abhorrence of popery, and his resolution "to do nothing against the laudable laws of his native kingdom." The council was then sitting at Linlithgow, and the discontented party once more were assembled at Edinburgh. The earl of London was chosen to be their mouth; and having gained admittance to the council-room, he made a speech, which has been preserved by Balfour, in which he inveighs strongly against popery, the order of bishops, and the innovations in religion that had been lately introduced. He concluded by presenting what he called a declinature against the bishops; and "he protested (says Balfour) that they should not thereafter be permitted to sit as judges till their cause was decided, because they were parties." "We neither crave (continued he, in the

Dated Nov.
15.
Further
progress of
the oppo-
sition.

A. D. 1637, close of his speech) their blood, nor harm to their persons, but that the abuses and wrongs done by them may be truly remonstrated to his majesty; that after due trial of the wrongs, such order may be taken, as the evils may be remedied; and that the power which they have taken may be restrained, that the like evils may be prevented in time to come. If we are to believe Balfour, (and what he says is confirmed by Burnet) only one bishop was present at this meeting; and the treasurer, who was in the chair, acknowledged the truth of the relation, and the equity of the petition. Two deputies from the clergy, Mr. James Cunningham and Mr. Thomas Ramsay, were then heard on the same side; and the lords receiving the petitions and the declinature, promised that no prejudice should accrue to the cause of the petitioners, till the royal pleasure should be known. It would be tiresome for the reader to recount all the disorders that happened among the lower ranks of people on this occasion. They followed the council in bodies, seldom less than two thousand, to all the places where they sat, and pestered them with petitions; one of which was from the women, pawns, (children) and servants of Edinburgh. This petition was presented at Stirling by a great number of armed men, who insulted the chancellor archbishop, and then they returned to Edinburgh.

Those

Those tumultuous proceedings, though, perhaps, necessary for the advancement of their cause, were attended with great inconveniences. No regard was paid either to public or private business; and the country in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh could not supply food for the prodigious numbers that resorted to the capital. This had been foreseen by their wisest heads; and a scheme was immediately produced for removing the evil. As the petitioners still professed the most explicit obedience to the king's authority, it was agreed, that the common people should resort to their respective habitations; and that four noblemen, four barons, four burgesses, and four ministers, (but their numbers were afterwards doubled) should be left as committees for their several orders, to treat with the privy-council. Each of those orders sat at a table by themselves; but they formed a general table, where their proceedings were debated before they were rendered decisive. It was at those tables where the renewing of the confession of faith, which has been since so well known by the designation of the solemn league and covenant, came under deliberation. The reader may remember the occasion upon which this covenant was first instituted in the late reign, while it was signed by king James, his council, and family. This act served as the ground-work of the present covenant, which consisted, besides, of a narrative of all acts of

par-

A. D. 1637.

The presbyterians form committees or tables.

1638.

A.D. 1638.

parliament ratifying the reformed religion, and an abjuration of the late innovations, till they were judged in a free general assembly; and the whole ended with a bond of defence for adhering to one another against all persons whatsoever, in defence of what they had done. In short, this new engagement was so extensive, that it not only abolished the new liturgy and canons, but the episcopal government itself, and the five articles of Perth, though they had received a parliamentary sanction. It is impossible to conceive with what avidity this covenant was signed by all ranks and degrees of presbyterians, first at Edinburgh, and then all over the kingdom. Though many well-wishers to episcopacy and monarchy were still in Scotland, yet they were so dispirited, that I can perceive no opposition made to the covenanters, and no counter-engagement formed to balance them. This was more than the party expected. Power was given to all ranks and degrees of men to administer the covenant; and none were found unprovided with a copy of it, which they obliged all who came in their way to sign. As those copies were generally engrossed upon parchment, made of sheep-skin, they called it "A constellation appearing on the back of Aries, or the heavenly Ram;" and such was the frantic zeal of many, that instead of ink, they signed it with their blood.

The Covenant resumed with improvements.

The

The northern parts, through the influence of the Gordons, and the marquis of Huntley, were more free than the southern from this spirit; and it was strenuously opposed by the university of Aberdeen, which was then filled with very able masters and professors of that kind of learning, that under the masque of loyalty, (very improperly so called) and subjection to the higher powers, teaches slavery and submission to tyrants. They represented the Solemn League and Covenant as being copied from the same measure that had been adopted by the French Leaguers against their lawful kings. This objection, which is founded in fact, had its weight with many, who did not consider the despotic views of Charles; and that a rational association (no matter under what name, or in what form) alone could defeat them. The laws against treason were so loose and indefinite, that the most harmless remonstrance, though not published, as was the case of Balmerino, might infer the pains of death and forfeiture. This over-awed those who had estates to lose; and they wisely remained behind the curtain till they were sure of being supported in their opposition by the body of the people; and in this they had amazing success.

Traquair was then at court, where he made such representations of the state of Scotland as suited his own views; but returned in the beginning of the year. His instructions were, that

The covenanters defy the government.

A.D. 1638. that he should proclaim at Stirling a kind of an approbation of the prayer-book; and that all resort to Stirling, but by inhabitants, and those who had licences from the council, should be discontinued; tho' the offenders were to be pardoned, if they returned to their duty. If we are to believe bishop Guthrie, (who is too apt to indulge suspicions) Traquair, upon his return to Scotland, privately informed the heads of the tables of his instructions; and they accordingly prepared a counter-protest, which they committed to the earl of Hume and lord Lindlay, who reached Stirling before Traquair. No sooner was the king's proclamation read, than those two noblemen, as had been concerted, with the other heads of the party, publicly protested against it, and dispatched authenticated copies of their protest to other cities and towns. This may be looked upon as the first defiance thrown out against government by the covenanters. The contents of the protest are therefore too important to be omitted here.

In the first place, they demanded an immediate recourse to the king to present their grievances. Secondly, they protested against the jurisdiction of the bishops, of whom they demanded a legal trial, for the crimes laid to their charge. Thirdly, they protested against all acts, either in council or out of council, in which the bishops are parties, in prejudice to the protesters. Fourthly, they protested against being
affected

OF SCOTLAND.

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A. D. 1638.

affected by any act political or ecclesiastical, introduced without, or against, the acts of the general assembly, or of parliament; and they claimed the liberty of serving God according to his word, and the constitutions of the church and kingdom. Fifthly, they protested against being answerable for any dangerous consequences that may attend the counsellors not gratifying their demands; and lastly, they, in fact, protest against the king's refusing to comply with them.

National distrust of Charles.

It is not to be disputed that the contents of this protest were seditious and treasonable, as the laws then stood in Scotland; nor can they be vindicated but by the provocations given to the people, and the necessity the heads of the leaguers were under to push their followers all at once past all confidence in, or reconciliation with, the court. They had but too good reason for such a conduct. It is plain from the beginning to the end of those civil broils, that Charles dealt in equivocal phrases and evasive expressions. They knew that under the words "lawful, parliamentary, ancient prerogative," and the like, if he should prevail, he could easily find means to break through all his professions, and re-establish his despotism with more effect than ever. They were sensible, at the same time, that the common people could never be united so firmly in any one cause as that of religion; and indeed, if we seriously consider the

A.D. 1638. complexion of their government at that time, religion and liberty went hand in hand. The nobility very wisely affected to check the excesses of the common people, who, the day after the protest was made, came by thousands in arms to Stirling. A proposal was made for putting the chancellor archbishop to the same death which his predecessor Hamilton had suffered some years before; but the middling ranks of people were not yet ripe for such a tragedy, and the bishop escaped. Before I proceed farther, it is necessary to take a view of the characters of the chief covenanters in Scotland at this time.

At their head was the earl of Argyle. This nobleman was descended from ancestors, who, by the situation of their estate, their connections with, and neighbourhood to Ireland, had the fairest claim to independency of any family in Scotland, and yet they had been remarkably attached to the race of the Stuarts. The conveniency of their coasts for landing a body of men from Ireland, had, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, rendered them great favourites at the court of Spain; and they had been treated by those princes rather as allies than subjects; but they had not distinguished themselves by any violent attachment to the Reformation. Archibald, now earl of Argyle, to a liberal learned education, joined exemplary private virtue, regularity of manners, clear-

Characters
of the co-
venanting
noblemen.

clearness of conception and soundness of judgment. He excelled in a profound knowledge of the laws and constitutions of his country; and when at court, he had very freely represented to Charles the dangerous consequences of aggrandizing the episcopal order in Scotland. This freedom displeased Laud and the clergy; and though he was considered by the public as being incomparably the most proper person to carry the great seal, Charles most impolitically gave it to the archbishop of St. Andrew's; and this partiality, perhaps, added to Argyle's prepossessions against episcopacy; so that he now fell in with the opposition to the court.

The earl of Montrose was at this time, as I have already hinted, a zealous covenanter. From the accounts we have from the best judges, who were personally acquainted with him, both at home and abroad, he had something in his manner and conversation that spoke him to be a hero. He was at this time about twenty-four years of age; and though I do not find that he had ever served in a military capacity, he no sooner declared himself for the covenant, than the party pointed him out as the most proper nobleman in Scotland to head them in the field. His judgment seems not to have been very sound; but he never was without courage in danger, without coolness in difficulties; and he always found resources in adversity. He had been disgusted with the arrogant pre-emi-

A.D. 1638. nence of churchmen; and was too jealous of the independency of Scotland, to see her, with patience, taking the law from an English prelate, and the seat of her government transferred to England. Those sentiments gave him the air of a patriot, as well as a hero, while the intrepidity of his mind, and the vigour of his imagination, carried him, in the sequel, through actions beyond even romance. After all, I am inclined to think, that Montrose never took the covenant; and it is certain, that Charles had at first conceived some prepossessions against his lofty deportment, and towering genius.

The earl of Rothes, another of the covenanters, (according to bishop Burnet) was a man of pleasure, and not very exemplary in his life; but was of a most obliging temper, and had all the arts of making himself popular. Waristoun, according to the same right reverend author, who was his nephew, had studied the law, had great quickness of thought, with an extraordinary memory; but he was a thorough presbyterian, even to enthusiasm. As to the other heads of the party, they seem all of them to have been men of sense and resolution, and knew extremely well how to make the best of the cause they had undertaken.

I ought here to attempt the characters of the chief royalists who opposed the covenanters; but

A. D. 1632.

but they were all of one stamp, good-meaning, ignorant, country-gentlemen, who wished very well to the king, and concerned themselves no farther in state-affairs, than family connections or animosities led them; and had not the covenanters carried their resentments too far, there would not have been found, strictly speaking, a royalist in the kingdom. The marquis of Huntley, indeed, most pertinaciously opposed the covenanters; but he did it upon popish and ambitious principles, in hopes, if the king prevailed, to be, without a rival, the most powerful subject in Scotland. The leaguers had now solemnly sworn at Edinburgh to be true to the covenant; and had raised considerable bodies of men to cement their association. Charles kept himself too abstracted in his own majesty, and at too great a distance from the rest of his subjects, to receive any true information of what was passing. He was startled, however, by the arrival of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Laud's other bishops, whom the fury of the covenanters had driven into England; and his eyes began to be opened, when he saw them followed by Traquair, to whom he chiefly entrusted the management of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland. Laud had prepossessed Charles considerably against the Scotch bishops, even of his own recommending, for so tamely yielding to the suspension of the service-book, and for so hastily aban-

The bishops
driven into
England.

A.D. 1638. abandoning the duties of their function. This gave Traquair an opportunity to clear his own conduct with Charles, at the expence of the bishops, and to possess him with the good opinion of milder measures. He was backed by the lord justice-clerk, who had been sent up by the rest of the council with full instructions as to the state of Scotland, and the means of restoring its tranquillity. The earl of Roxburgh, for whom Charles had always expressed a personal regard, joined them in the same opinion; but after all, neither they nor the counsellors, who remained in Scotland, had the courage to speak the whole truth. They represented their countrymen as being still reclaimable by some concessions, such as that of desisting from their acceptance of the liturgy, and quieting them as to the resumption of the church-lands.

Measures
taken for
restoring
tranquillity
to Scotland.

Bishop Burnet, in his history of the Hamilton family, has given us a long detail of what passed on this occasion, which is of little use to a modern reader. It is, however, plain, that the tenderness of Traquair, and the justice-clerk, in concealing from Charles the true spirit of his Scotch subjects, led him into fatal mistakes, and served only to confirm his obstinacy. He thought that the covenanters might be subdued by persevering in his main design, and by sweetening them with an offer of pardon to all who should return to their duty.

duty. In fact, he was almost as much of A.D. 1638.
 fended with his counsellors, many of whom
 had joined the opposition, as with the cove-
 nanters themselves, for receiving the declina-
 ture, and suffering the jurisdiction of the bi-
 shops to be debated at their board. While he
 was deliberating how to proceed, the cove-
 nanters drew up a paper, consisting of eight
 articles, which they sent up to London, as the
 only terms upon which the tranquillity of their
 country could be re-established. The first and Demands of
the cove-
nanters.
 second demanded a discharge of the liturgy,
 the book of canons, and the high-commission;
 a fresh grievance that had been lately forced
 upon them from England. By the third, the
 articles of Perth were to be revoked, as being
 introductory to all the spiritual grievances they
 complained of. By the fourth, they declare
 against bishops (whom they there name minis-
 ters) holding civil places, or seats in parlia-
 ment. In the fifth, they complained of lay pre-
 sentations, subscriptions, and oaths; and de-
 manded that all presentations for the future shall
 be in presbyteries. The sixth required a law-
 ful and free national assembly of the church;
 the seventh a meeting of the parliament; and
 the eighth, that instructions should be given
 for treating of all those matters in those two
 assemblies.

Without entering into any discussion of the
 legality or propriety of those demands, I may
 venture

Charles re-
 laxes in his
 severity.

A.D. 1638. venture to say, that the intolercancy to which bigots of every persuasion are attached, manifested itself on this occasion among the Scotch covenanters. They erected themselves into an independent tribunal, as if they had been sure of receiving a flat denial to their demands; and every person who would not sign and swear to the covenant, was by them treated as a traitor to his country. Charles and Laud, bigotted as they were in their principles, ordered the Scotch bishops to return to their dioceses; and that they should be less severe on the heads of oaths and ceremonies, at least till his majesty should try his last experiment for quieting the seditions, which was by sending down a commissioner to represent his person in parliament. The nobleman he pitched upon for that important trust was the marquis of Hamilton, with whom, since his return from Germany, Charles had lived in an uncommon degree of familiarity. He was as agreeable to the covenanters as any other nobleman could have been, especially as many of his relations had followed their cause. He had always behaved decently towards Laud; and before his departure for Scotland, he was an advocate for moderation. Charles inclined to the same side, and offered to go any lengths for quieting the public commotions, provided the covenant was abjured. In this he was peremptory, saying, that as long as that covenant was not passed from, he

The mar-
quis of Ha-
milton
commis-
sioner.

had no more power than the duke of Venice. A. D. 1698.
 He ordered Hamilton and Traquair to draw up a declaration to be published in Scotland; and they were so good courtiers, that they inserted in it a promise of redress for their grievances, provided they renounced the covenant in a certain time. The archbishop of St. Andrew's, who knew the temper of the covenanters much better than they did, drew up another in more smooth and general terms; but Charles, not thinking it explicit enough with regard to the covenant, rejected it, and adopted the other, which Hamilton carried down with him as part of his instructions. This was among the last actions of the chancellor archbishop's life; for he died soon after at London. I can only add, to what I have already observed of his character, that he was at first deficient in courage, which might be owing to his fondness for power; and that this prevented him from making use of the great experience he had, with sufficient freedom, for his master's service.

Before Hamilton reached Edinburgh, the covenanters made dispositions for repelling force by force, if needful. They had bought up large quantities of arms abroad. They deprived the magistrates of Edinburgh of all command in that city. They surrounded it with fifteen hundred men, and blockaded the castle, because the governor refused to surrender it.

Resolute
behaviour
of the co-
venanters.

A. D. 1638. After Hamilton entered Scotland, he was attended by lord Lindsay, who told him plainly, that the people were resolved never to give up their covenant : That they insisted upon having the articles of Perth annulled, and episcopacy reduced to little more than a name ; adding, that if a free parliament and a general assembly were not immediately called, they were resolved to call both by their own authority. When Hamilton arrived at Dalkeith, where the council was then sitting, he found the majority of its members had a warm side to the covenanters ; and that the latter were determind to carry into execution, if needful, all that lord Lindsay had threatened. He advised Charles of the desperate state of his affairs in Scotland ; and that twenty thousand men in arms were near the capital. His advice was, that the king should secretly prepare to reduce the rebels by force of arms. In the mean while, he informed his majesty that he found the spirit of the people to be such, that he did not think proper to open that part of his instructions which related to the covenant. Charles approved of all this, and promised to follow his advice. In short, the letter which Charles returned to Hamilton is, I think, a full refutation of the charge of duplicity brought against that nobleman by bishop Guthrie, and adopted by later writers.

Burnet's
Memoirs.

As

As the castle of Edinburgh was then destitute of arms, some were sent down by sea; but the council was obliged to lodge them at Dalkeith, as the covenanters would not permit them to proceed to the castle. After Hamilton had registered his commission at Dalkeith, he received an invitation to Holyrood house from the tables; and their guards being withdrawn, he was met on the road by a prodigious number of the covenanters, (Burnet calls them sixty thousand; but Balfour only makes them twenty thousand) and most of them in arms. Of those, five hundred were ministers; and four of their leaders had prepared speeches, which were to be delivered to his grace the commissioner, at certain stages of his short journey; and it was with great difficulty that the marquis diverted them from their intention. He could not, however, prevent Livingston, the minister of Lanerk, from haranguing him next morning in a most violent invective against episcopacy, and arbitrary government. But it is now absolutely necessary that I should examine the charge that has been brought against the marquis by bishop Guthrie. He says, that at first Hamilton's deportment to the covenanters was stately and harsh; but that next morning they found him more plausible in treating with them; and that drawing their heads into a private gallery, he expressed himself as follows: "My lords and gentlemen, I spoke to you before those lords of

A. D. 1638.
Examina-
tion of bi-
shop Guth-
rie's charge
against Ha-
milton.

Balfour's
MS.

A. D. 1638.

council as the king's commissioner; now there being none present but yourselves, I speak to you as a kindly Scotsman: If you go on with courage and resolution, you will carry what you please; but if you faint, and give ground in the least, you are undone: a word is enough to wise men." The bishop says, that at first he had this relation at the third hand from Cant the minister, who was a principal covenanter; and that it was confirmed to him by the earl of Montrose, who said that it made an impression upon him.

I shall be far from disputing, that the marquis talked to the covenanters in private with an air of frankness and familiarity; but I have the strongest reason for disbelieving the objectionable part of this conversation. In the first place, it represents Hamilton (who afterwards lost his head for his loyalty) in a light the very reverse of his real character, because he incautiously, and indeed wantonly, put his life in the power of a sett of men, to whom he was in a manner a stranger, and whose joint evidence must at any time confute him. In the next place, it was natural for the covenanters to give out that the king's commissioner was privately their friend; and Montrose, who was then a violent covenanter, might join in the deceit. But what weighs most with me is, that if Montrose had believed Hamilton to have been guilty of such duplicity, he would have
after-

afterwards exposed it, when they were at open variance together, though both engaged in the same quarrel, and attacked each other with the most bitter invectives.

A. D. 1638.

The moderate conduct of Hamilton, and his making no mention of the covenant, made some impression upon the best-intentioned part of the covenanters; and the friends of monarchy and episcopacy were encouraged to hope that matters might be yet prevented from coming to extremity. The university of Aberdeen, whose professors were then in high reputation all over Europe for their learning, though far from favouring Laud, boldly published remonstrances against the legality of the covenant; and it was condemned by the foreign reformed churches. The zeal of Montrose impelled him to take a journey northwards, attended by some preachers, to reason the professors out of their opposition; but the conferences turned so much out in disavour of the covenant, that many profelytes were made to the royal cause, and very possibly they operated upon Montrose himself. Some overtures were made for Charles to agree to an explanation of the covenant; but they were disagreeable to both parties. He had an excellent fleet. He had two hundred thousand pounds in ready money, and could command five hundred thousand more, a fine train of artillery, arms for fourteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and he had

Moderate
councils
proposed.

se-

A. D. 1638. secured Carlisle and Berwick. Above all, he was encouraged by the spirit of indignation which he observed among his courtiers against the Scots. The ill-intentioned covenanters, on the other hand, being afraid that matters might be compromised, drew up fresh demands, requiring an entire abrogation of episcopacy, and that the royal power should be reduced almost to insignificancy in Scotland.

Hamilton had been instructed, if possible, to evade the calling together a parliament, or a general assembly, till the covenant was renounced. His mild address, and insinuating behaviour, had prevailed with the covenanters to dismiss the crowds that repaired to Edinburgh. This gave him some courage; and he endeavoured to prevail with the crown-lawyers to publish an opinion against the legality of the covenant; but they evaded it, on account of the danger they might incur. It required all Hamilton's temper to put up with the affronts he daily met with. The covenanters had actually wrested the sword out of the king's hand. They continued to proceed with fury against all who refused to take the covenant. They prohibited the numerous relations and dependents the commissioner had in the West, to attend him in a body; and he plainly saw, that they intended to insult him even at the council-board, if he should attempt to oppose his authority to their pleasure. They had again and
again

again pressed him to call a parliament; and he still begged to be excused, till public tranquillity was restored: but as they continued to press him, he promised to go to court, and obtain leave from Charles for that purpose. In the meanwhile, he prevailed with Charles to restore the court of session to Edinburgh, from which it had been removed; and this gave him so much credit in the council, that he ventured to publish the king's proclamation against the covenant, which produced a new and violent protest from its friends.

A. D. 1638.

The part which Charles acted at this time was very equivocal. He was making preparations for reducing the covenanters by force; and he was privately instructing Hamilton to grant them concessions, which he never meant to perform. These, however, had such an effect, that he obtained a promise from the heads of the covenanters that every thing should remain quiet in Scotland, till his return thither. When he arrived at London, he honestly laid before Charles the dangerous state of his authority in Scotland; and told him not to depend too much upon his English subjects, many of whom he knew held a secret correspondence with the covenanters. Hamilton's representations had so much weight, that Charles sent him back with a very moderate set of instructions, which fell little short of an abolition of episcopacy, if insisted upon by its enemies.

Insincerity
of Charles.

A. D. 1638. enemies. He was to consent to the council, and all other subjects, signing the confession of faith, authorized by the parliament in the late reign; but to it was to be annexed the following bond: "We and every one of us underwritten, do protest and swear in the presence of God Almighty, that we are truly and fully resolved in our consciences, that this is the confession of the true faith of Christ, established by the laws of this country; and that (by the grace of God) we will profess and maintain the same all the days of our lives; and because the safety of religion, kirk, and commonwealth, depends much upon the comfortable assistance which all of them daily receive from royal justice and authority, we protest and promise with our hearts, under the obligation of the same oath, to defend not only this our religion, but the king's majesty's sacred person and authority, as also the laws and liberties of this our country, under his majesty's sovereign power, with our best counsels, bodies, goods, and whole estate, according to the laws, and against all sorts of persons, and in all things whatsoever, and likewise mutually to defend ourselves, and one another, in this abovementioned cause, under the same obligation."

Unexceptionable as this qualification was, it drew fresh protests against it from the covenanters, though the instructions given to Hamilton,

milton, and the compliances to which he was empowered to agree, exceeded the original demands of the party itself; for he was impowered, in fact, to consent to a suspension of the votes of bishops in parliament, if insisted upon by the covenanters. He was to repeal the use of the service-book, and to cancel the high-commission, and to advise the bishops not to take their places at the council-board. The truth is, the king's compliances were such as must have satisfied the covenanters, had not the common people been impelled by enthusiasm, and their leaders been possessed with an invincible distrust of Charles, or actuated by motives less defensible, which I am here to explain.

Though Charles was a kind and generous master to all his servants, and especially the Scots, who were about his person, yet they betrayed him, and sent to the covenanters copies of all the dispatches he either received or issued. This practice was so common, and so easily carried on, by the access which his bed-chamber men had to his pockets, that the few friends he had in Scotland, in recommending to him secrecy, used to desire that he would not trust even his own pockets with their letters. They knew that all his compliances arose from necessity or expediency; and that he would break or evade them as soon as his fleet and army were in a condition to act. It is

History of
Richieu's
intrigues
against
Charles.

A. D. 1638. with reluctance I observe, from the state-papers published by bishop Burnet, that this distrust was but too well-founded; and, in reality, it took such a root both in Scotland and England, that the most sensible rebels to his authority always distrusted him the most when he promised the fairest; but besides this diffidence, the covenanters had other political reasons for not being contented with the royal offers. They thought that they had been extorted from Charles by force; and that they must be ruined, if that force was discontinued. But I am now to open and explain another source of Charles's misfortunes, which has been but slightly, if at all, touched upon by Scotch historians, though it is intimately connected with their subject.

Charles, as I have already hinted, had true notions of the balance of power on the continent. He was sensible of Richlieu's ambition, and his dangerous views; and after-events proved, that he was right in transferring his jealousy of the house of Austria to that of Bourbon. Richlieu had gained the prince of Orange and the states-general, and had formed a plan for making himself master of the Austrian Netherlands. The naval power of Charles, who was at this time looked upon as a formidable prince, because he raised his revenues without the assistance of parliament, was the only check that Richlieu dreaded in his attempt.

tempt. In order to remove it, he sent over D'Estrades, an able negotiator, to offer Charles his own terms, if he would but remain neutral; but above all to make the queen his friend, and to offer her any thing she could demand from her brother. It is to the honour of Charles, that though he was fond of his wife even to weakness, he reprimanded her even for presuming to talk of a neutrality for Flanders; though D'Estrades, in his master's name, promised, that Charles should be assisted by a body of French troops in reducing his rebel subjects. This did not discourage D'Estrades, to whom Charles declared, in an audience he gave him, that he was so far from such a neutrality, that he was determined to have a fleet in the Downs ready to act, and with fifteen thousand troops on board, which he would land in Flanders in case of need. Charles then thanked Richlieu for his offers; but said, that he had no occasion of any foreign assistance to reduce his subjects, if they should fail in their duty, his own authority, and the laws of England, being sufficient to keep them in awe.

A. D. 1638.

Instructions from
Richlieu to
D'Estrades,
Dec. 2,
1637.

Richlieu's pride was offended with this spirited declaration; and D'Estrades had orders to tamper with some Scotchmen, particularly a lord and a clergyman, who were then at the English court; but were so little considered, that they had not been able to obtain access to

L 1 2

Charles.

A. D. 1638. Charles. Richlieu approved of what D'Estrades had done; and his letter to that minister sufficiently accounts for the springs of the Scotch troubles at this time. "I will pursue (says he) the advice which you have given me as to Scotland, and will immediately dispatch thither the abbé Chambers, my almoner, who is himself a Scotsman, and who shall go to Edinburgh, to wait upon the two persons you have named to me, and to enter into a negotiation with them. Before the end of twelve months, the king and queen of England shall repent their having refused the offers which you made them from his majesty.—If (continues he, with the same strain of insolence) God blesses our undertaking, his majesty will have no great reason to regret that England has rejected his offers. You could not have spoken better, nor could you have better answered the king of England on my account. They shall soon know that I am not despicable. If your two Scotch friends are yet at London, tell them to trust to whatever shall be communicated to them by the abbot Chambers; and give them a letter from yourself to that abbot, which will serve as a signal to introduce them to his company. You have done an important service to his majesty in finding out those two men. Assure them of my affection and protection."

Lettre du
cardinal
Richlieu à
monf. le
compte
D'Estrades
de Ruel,
Dec. 2,
1637.

The mar-
quis of Ha-
milton re-
turns to
court.

Charles did not suspect those hidden dangers, that came from a haughty popish prelate, confederated

derated against him with Scotch covenanters. A. D. 1638.
Richlieu's emissaries tampered with Lesley, who had served with so much reputation under Gustavus Adolphus, but whom Charles, on account of his station, refused to treat as a gentleman; and a hundred thousand crowns of French money were deposited in his hands for the use of the covenanters. When Hamilton returned from England, he found them more intractable than ever. They now demanded, that all magistrates and subjects within the kingdom should sign the covenant, under pain of excommunication; and that episcopacy should be utterly abolished in Scotland. Their spirit was so high, that Hamilton begged leave once more to return to court; and it was with the utmost difficulty he prevailed upon them to lay aside their design of calling a parliament, and general assembly, by their own authority, for twenty days, which he promised should be the time of his absence. In his journey, he consulted with the earls Traquair, Roxburgh, and Southesk; and they jointly signed a paper, advising Charles to more explicit concessions in favour of the covenanters, in which they happily succeeded. A fresh sett of instructions were drawn up for Hamilton, the three first of which were as follows: "First, you shall in full and ample manner, by proclamation, or otherwise, as you shall see cause, declare, That we do absolutely revoke the service-book, the book of
canons,

A. D. 1638. canons, and the high-commission. Secondly, You shall likewise discharge the practice of the five articles of Perth, notwithstanding the act of parliament which doth command the same; and in the said proclamation you shall promise, in our name, that if in the first parliament to be held the three estates shall think fit to repeal the said act, we shall then give our royal assent to the said act of repeal. Though you shall likewise declare, that we have enjoined and authorized the lords of our privy-council to subscribe the confession of faith, and bond thereto annexed, which was subscribed by our dear father, and enjoined by his authority, in the year 1580, and likewise have enjoined them to take order that all our subjects subscribe the same."

A new parliament called,

Upon the return of Hamilton with those, and many other instructions of the same healing nature, all the subjects, who were not enthusiastically bent upon war and rebellion, exulted at the near prospect of tranquillity being restored to their country. The privy-council unanimously signed the negative confession of faith (as it was called) and covenant of the late reign, while the king's free pardon was proclaimed; and the liturgy, the book of canons, the high-commission, and the Perth articles publicly revoked. Those and many other concessions damped the courage of the covenanters; and they demanded time to consider of their signing

ing the old confession. This was refused them; upon which they took a formal protest against all that had been done by the lord commissioner and the lords of the council, who had unanimously agreed, that Charles had to the full gratified them in all lawful demands. Even by the manner in which Balfour represents those proceedings of the covenanters, they were indefensible. Sir Thomas Hope was among the privy-counsellors who addressed a letter of thanks to Charles for his gracious condescension; and a proclamation was issued for the meeting both of the general assembly and the parliament; but this was protested against by the earl of Montrose, at the head of the covenanters. Charles was by this time far advanced in his preparations for war; and had some thoughts of erecting a magazine at Hull, to be employed against the Scots; but he was dissuaded from it by the marquis of Hamilton, who dreaded that such a measure might give a farther handle of opposition to the covenanters. Charles, who was resolved to break through all his concessions, reinforced the garrison of Berwick with a regiment which had been hired for the service of the prince of Orange.

A. D. 1633,

Balfour's
MSS.

The old covenant became now the party-word with the royalists, as the new was with their antagonists. The distinction was of great service to Charles. Many who had entertained the most dreadful apprehensions, were now

con-

and the old
covenant
signed.

A.D. 1639.

convinced that neither their religion nor liberties were in danger; and upwards of twenty-eight thousand persons signed the old covenant: The northern parts of the kingdom, almost to a man, declared against the new covenant; and had it not been for the zeal and activity of the earl of Montrose, Huntley, and his friends would have put themselves in arms, and have marched southwards. A general assembly of the clergy was then sitting at Glasgow, in which all the bishops who did not submit to be put upon the footing of presbyters, were deposed or excommunicated. Many of the moderate ministers, who were friends to the old episcopacy, were driven from their livings; and the members had the insolence to vote that a letter should be sent to the king for his approbation of their conduct. The bishops who had been driven into England, had lost all their credit even with Charles; and railed at Hamilton for having betrayed them, by giving way to the new covenant, to which was annexed a fresh bond, more particular and explicit, but in substance pretty much the same with the former. All that the marquis could do, could not, however, prevail upon the council to declare the protests that had been entered against the old confession to be seditious, though they seemed to detest them.

1639.
Prepara-
tions for
war.

Both parties were all this while proceeding with great diligence in their preparations for war,

war. Ships freighted with arms and ammunition were daily arriving for the use of the covenanters, to the amazement of the royalists, who little knew that they were furnished by Richlieu ; so that they were more ripe for action than the royal army in England ; and were deliberating whether they should attack Carlisle or Berwick, or both. The last protest which they had entered against the old covenant and the concessions of Charles, exasperated him beyond measure, as did the continuance of the assembly at Glasgow, though the commissioner had ordered it to be discontinued on pain of treason. Charles now directed a writ to his nobility to attend the royal standard at York on the first day of April, avowing his intention of invading Scotland. The earl of Argyle sat in the assembly at Glasgow, after it had been declared treasonable, and was the soul of all their deliberations, tho' Montrose was the most active. A new, and a more strong, solemn, protestation than ever was made at the cross of Edinburgh, by him, in the name of the nobility ; by Mr. Alexander Gibson of Dury, the younger, in the name of the gentry ; by George Porterfield, burghers of Glasgow, in the name of the boroughs ; and by Mr. Henry Rollock, in the name of the ministers. The protest itself was read by Wariston, in the name of the whole body. A parliament had been summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the fifteenth day of

A. D. 1639. ful person to recommend him. By this time, Charles had published a declaration of his reasons for undertaking this expedition. It was penned by Balcanqual dean of Durham, who had been a very active enemy to the covenanters; and contained a detail of their treasons and conspiracies, drawn up with great seeming moderation, but too much in the stile of prerogative. It sufficiently evinces, however, that Charles was then fully apprized as to the most secret views and transactions of the party; and when published in Scotland, it proved to be of infinite service to the royalists.

The covenanters surprize the castles of Edinburgh and Dalkeith.

The covenanters now avowed their rebellion; and many of them disclaimed the oaths either of allegiance or supremacy, tho' their writings and speeches were filled with the most dutiful professions of obedience to the royal authority. They had surprized the castle of Edinburgh, and the house of Dalkeith, where the regalia were lodged; and they fortified Leith against the royal fleet, which was then at sea. Hamilton was greatly blamed by those, who were ignorant of the true state of things, for not providing better than he did for the defence of Edinburgh castle; and Charles ordered the earl of Traquair to confine himself to his own house, till he should account for the reason why he gave up Dalkeith before any cannon was brought before the place. A few well-affected nobility still made head against
the

the rebels. The earl of Roxburgh preserved Teviotdale in its allegiance; but was soon obliged to yield to the covenanters. The marquis of Douglas, by being popish, could not do the king the service he wished; and his castle of Tantallon was seized by the covenanters; so that almost all Scotland by south the Tay, fell under their power without bloodshed. In Angus, the earls of Airly and Southesk declared for the king; but the strength of the royal cause lay with Huntley in the north. That nobleman had demanded of Charles two or three thousand men, and arms for five thousand more. They were promised him, but never sent; though Morton bishop of Durham, is said to have furnished him, at his own expence, with arms for three thousand foot, and a hundred horse. The marquis of Hamilton was censured for this disappointment, which Huntley said disabled him from doing the king the most decisive services.

A. D. 1659.

Hist. of the Family of Gordon.

The heads of the covenanters, who did not expect to see such an appearance of royalists in Scotland, exerted themselves with most amazing activity. They had seized upon the castle of Dumbarton, which, like that of Edinburgh, had been most unaccountably left defenceless. Besides Lesley, they had engaged Monro, and several other Scotch officers, who had gained great reputation abroad, in their service. Monro had a command upon the borders,

A war breaks out in the north.

A.D. 1639. ders, where he overawed Roxburgh and the earl of Nithsdale, and kept an eye upon the incursions of the English. The earl of Argyll undertook to guard the western coast, and to oppose any descent from Ireland. He had raised a regiment of a thousand men, who had surprized and garrisoned the marquis of Hamilton's castle in the isle of Arran. The earl of Montrose was appointed their general in the north, where Lesley was to serve under him against the marquis of Huntley. Montrose, who was attended by the earl of Mar-
 shal, appointed Tunes, a village in Aberdeenshire, for the rendezvous of all the northern covenanters; and he was soon at the head of a considerable army; but was tied down to undertake no service of importance without consulting Lesley. Their orders were, to dismantle Aberdeen, to disarm all the royalists in that city, and to crush the marquis of Huntley before he could be joined by the troops he expected from England. Huntley hearing of the intended rendezvous at Tunes, raised about two thousand and five hundred horse; but found the place already possessed by the covenanters. He excused himself from acting offensively, as he had not been attacked by Montrose, and he retired. He soon found reason to repent of this precipitate conduct; and raising a more considerable army than before, he took possession of Aberdeen.

The

A.D. 1639.

The executive power in Scotland was at this time exercised by the committee men I have already mentioned, under the name of the Tables; and they immediately ordered Montrose and Lesley to re-assemble their troops. The historians of the family of Gordon have accused the marquis of Hamilton for having betrayed Huntley, and for keeping a private correspondence with the tables upon this occasion. I can see no reason for this charge, farther than that it is possible Hamilton advised Charles to order Huntley to act upon the defensive; and it is certain that he did not think himself at liberty to attack Montrose, with whom he offered to negotiate for a pacification. Montrose seemed not to decline the treaty; but his answer was ambiguous, though civil; but still he continued his preparations to march northwards. An interview, however, was procured between the two generals; and Huntley, upon Montrose's invitation, repaired to the camp of the covenanters at Inveroury, where a pacification for the north was agreed upon. Montrose was to return with his army southwards. Huntley was to disband his, and was not to trouble or molest any of the covenanters within the bounds of his lieutenantancy. The heads of both parties, at the same time, signed a paper, which bishop Guthrie says was substantially the same with the covenant; but the friends of

Huntley

A.D. 1639. Huntley more truly affirm, that it only bound him to maintain the king's authority, together with the liberties and religion of the kingdom. Upon this, Huntley and Montrose parted seemingly good friends, and each repaired to his own house. The covenanters were dissatisfied at the loose terms of the paper signed by Huntley ; and the earl of Argyle plundered the lands, and burnt the houses of the royalists in Angus, and to the north as far as Aberdeen. Being arrived at that city, he joined the army commanded by Montrose, which had now received very considerable reinforcements from the northern covenanters. Under pretence of settling the peace of the north, Huntley was invited to a meeting at Aberdeen ; and receiving a safe-conduct from Montrose, as commander in chief, he went thither, attended by his two eldest sons, the lord Gordon, and the viscount of Aboyn ; but when he was at Aberdeen, he found himself a prisoner. He and his eldest son were carried in custody to Edinburgh ; but Aboyn was dismissed upon his parole, that he would surrender himself when called upon. It is difficult to clear Montrose's honour in this transaction, but by supposing he was obliged to comply with a superior interest. This arrest of Huntley and his son proved afterwards of a very pernicious consequence to the king's affairs ; because

Gordon of
Stroloch
MSS.

because when Montrose changed his party, Huntley was so much prepossessed against him that they never could agree *.

A.D. 1639.

On the first of May, the marquis of Hamilton appeared with his fleet in the road of Leith. He was furnished with a proclamation drawn up by his majesty, in which he gave an account of the affronts his authority had received by the covenanters, and his design to do himself right, according to the power and authority God had put in his hand: withal offering indemnity to such as should, within eight days, lay down their arms, some few excepted; declaring such as would not obey, to be rebels, setting a price upon their heads, and ordering their vassals and tenants not to acknowledge them, nor pay them rents. The covenanters had neglected to fortify the islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm; and the marquis not venturing to land at Leith, either on the Lothian or the Fife coasts, set his men ashore on those small islands; but the covenanters at Edinburgh refused to suffer the king's proclamation to be published. Forty of the chief covenanters, lords and gen-

The marquis of Hamilton returns with a fleet to Scotland.

* I have related those proceedings in the north chiefly from the histories of the Gordon family, which are well authenticated. It is surprizing that the cotemporary historians of Scotland should overlook or misrepresent events of such importance. Burnet seems to have known very little of them; and is mistaken in his narrative. Bishop Guthrie is still more so; and bishop Wishart, Montrose's elegant historian, declares himself to be entirely ignorant of the facts, and attributes Huntley's aversion to co-operate with Montrose, to his envy.

A. D. 1639. tlemen, gave their reasons in a letter to the marquis, which I think does great honour to their patriotism. They objected against the proclamation, as being printed in a foreign kingdom, and not warranted by act, or authority of the council. "Your grace knows well (say they) that by the laws of this kingdom, treason and forfeiture of the lands, life, and estate of the meanest subject within the same, cannot be declared but either in parliament, or in a supreme justice-court, after citation and lawful probation; how much less of the whole peers and body of the kingdom, without either court, proof, or trial." They offered, however, in the same letter, to co-operate with the marquis as king's commissioner in all salutary public measures; but recommended to him the calling a parliament. While the marquis was lying with his ships in the Forth, he had many meetings with his friends and relations, who magnified the power and interest of the covenanters so highly, as rendered him extremely cautious how to proceed. His caution upon this occasion has been attributed by bishop Guthrie and others to treachery; but though he was, perhaps, too slow in his operations, I am inclined to think it was owing to his earnest desire of seeing his country restored to tranquillity without bloodshed. It is not, however, easy to vindicate his neglect of not sending some reinforcements
and

and supplies to the king's friends in the north, A. D. 1639. where they were again in arms under the lord Aboyn. Among the other motives for Hamilton's caution, may be reckoned the behaviour of his mother. That lady was so zealous a covenantanter, that she raised some troops, and headed them with two cases of pistols at her saddle; and when she came to Leith, protested that she would kill her son with her own hands, if he should venture to land in a hostile manner.

The representations sent up by Hamilton to Charles startled that prince so much, that he Unsteady conduct of Charles. ordered him not to begin hostilities in the south; but seemed inclined to send a detachment to his friends in the north. Hamilton, in answer to this, returned a paper, containing certain heads for an accommodation, but differing very little from those which had been so often rejected; and Charles gave him leave to amuse the covenanters with a negotiation, till he heard that the English army had entered Scotland. In the mean while, Hamilton's representations had such an effect upon him, that he ordered him to send three of the regiments that were with him to join the English army at Holy Island, which was done; but Hamilton neglected to execute the other part of his orders, by sending the remainder of his troops to the assistance of lord Aboyn; and this seems to be the most exceptionable part of his conduct.

A. D. 1639.

Whatever appearances of spirit and resolution the covenanters wore, they certainly were at this time under some difficulties how to proceed. The money they had received from France was now exhausted; and all they obtained further, was a promise of more. They had a numerous army on foot; but they knew not how to maintain it. The concessions of Charles had made a visible impression upon the public; and the country of the earl of Argyle, the head of their party, was daily threatened with an invasion from Ireland, under the earl of Antrim, not to mention that the English army was then advanced as far as York: but all the disadvantages they laboured under, were more than compensated by the strong party they had among the English nobility then at York; many of whom were earnest with Charles for a pacification. Charles secretly disliked those counsels; and was surprised that the language of his great men should be so soon altered. An oath was invented, which was to be administered by way of test to the officers, professing their loyalty and obedience to his majesty, and disclaiming and renouncing their having any intelligence with the rebels. All the Scots in the royal army readily took this oath; but it was refused by the lord Brook and the lord Say; for which Charles ordered them to be confined to their own houses. Other English noblemen, many of whom had great estates, and who did not dislike Charles

Charles and Laud receiving some rubs in the career of their despotism, thought that the terms granted to the Scots would be good precedents for the like being obtained for the English. They likewise dreaded the consequence of Charles conquering Scotland, and reducing that kingdom to an entire dependency upon himself. Many of the covenanters were then at York; and plied Charles with papers and professions of their attachment to his authority, which had a great effect upon the English nobility. A regiment of Irish which had been sent over by the lord deputy of Ireland, had entered Carlisle; and before Charles began his march, he ordered the earl of Essex to advance, by forced marches, to take possession of Berwick. The army of the covenanters had now advanced towards the borders of England; and had they not been destitute of money, or perhaps afraid of exasperating the English too much, they might have surprized Berwick before the arrival of Essex, who entered it without opposition, to the great joy of Charles.

Lesley, who commanded the covenanting army, was then encamped at Duns; and on the second day of June the English army was encamped near Berwick, from whence Charles sent positive orders for the marquis of Hamilton immediately to enter upon hostilities. The king was encouraged to this by the earl of Queensberry, the lord Johnston and Buccleugh, with

The war continues in the north.

A.D. 1639. with many other noblemen and gentlemen upon the borders, declaring in his favour. Burnet says, that the very next day after Hamilton got those orders, and was preparing to put them in execution, he was in danger of being taken prisoner himself by the covenanters, the vessel he was in having run aground. He is, on the other hand, charged by bishop Guthrie with being amused by the covenanters, and lying in a shameful inactivity; and indeed, admitting the accident of his danger to be true, it is not easy to account for his conduct. The covenanters had received from Dick, a rich merchant, large sums of money, which had put their army once more in motion; while the assurances of being assisted by Hamilton, had assembled the gentlemen of the name of Gordon, and many others in the north, who had formed themselves into an association for the royal cause. Though they were at a loss for a leader, the marquis of Huntley and his eldest son remaining prisoners, and lord Aboyn with Charles, yet they agreed to obey Sir John Gordon of Haddo, and Sir George Ogilvie of Bamff, who surprized the covenanters, still lying at Turref, and drove them out of the place. Their success in this exploit brought a body of Highlanders to join them, and they marched to Aberdeen, where they lived at free quarter upon the covenanters; but having no commission from the king to rise in arms, they were persuaded by Straloch to return home, They

They had scarce come to that resolution, when A.D. 1639 they heard that the earl of Seaforth, the lord Lovat, the Dunbars, the Innes's of Murray, and the Grants of Shathspey, were in arms against them, and that Montrose was on his march northwards to reduce them. It happened, however, that the northern covenanters were only assembled to defend themselves, and the compromise between them and the royalists was easily effected; while Montrose, though his army consisted of about four thousand men, after entering upon some slight hostilities against the Gordons, returned southwards, having intelligence that the lord Aboyn was coming by sea to Aberdeen with a considerable reinforcement, and a commission of lieutenancy from Charles.

The reinforcement was but inconsiderable; but it enabled Aboyn to retake Aberdeen with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, after which he prepared to attack the earl Marthal, who was a violent covenanter, and then to march to Angus, and join the earl of Airly. In the mean while, Aboyn having no money, his men lived at free quarters. One colonel Gun, who had served abroad, commanded under Aboyn, and was accused of having betrayed him. The army of the royalists were attended along the coasts by a small squadron of ships, which carried their cannon and ammunition; but a strong easterly wind blowing

A. D. 1639. ing them to sea, the royalists were deprived of their assistance. Almost every step they afterwards took was injudicious and unfortunate; and their officers publicly said, that they were betrayed by Gun, who had been recommended, by the marquis of Hamilton, to Aboyn. A skirmish which followed, in which the Highlanders lost a few men by cannon-shot, discouraged them so much, that they deserted in companies; and Aboyn was forced to return to Aberdeen with the remainder of his army. They were pursued by Montrose; but they made a stand at the bridge of Dee, from whence they were beaten with some loss, and the whole army was soon after dispersed. Montrose once more took possession of Aberdeen, which he was pressed by the lord Fraser, and other violent covenanters, to burn to the ground; but he was contented with imposing a large mulct upon the inhabitants, and imprisoning forty-eight of the most forward of the royalists. The historians of the family of Gordon attribute the ruin of this little army to the treachery of Gun; but I cannot see with what propriety, as the covenanters were as numerous, better supplied, and better officered, than their enemies. We shall find a more probable reason for their dispersion, by attending the events of the south. In the beginning of July, the covenanters, who now lay in sight of the Scotch army, presented a number of petitions, and published several proclamations

A. D. 1659.

nations to conciliate the good opinion of their English friends, professing the greatest duty to the king, and declaring that they would not act offensively. This moderation was partly the result of necessity, as want of money had obliged above one half of their army to return home; so that Lesley had not with him above twelve thousand effective men. The earl of Holland, with a body of a thousand horse, and three thousand foot, was sent by Charles to take possession of Kello; but having arrived at a rising ground above that town with his horse, and sent his foot on, he perceived a body of the enemy, not above three thousand men, advancing to attack him. Holland, who was in his heart a friend to the covenanters, affected to believe that the party was ten thousand strong; and giving orders to recall his foot, (though he was instructed to fight) he carried back his detachment safe to Charles, whose army was then encamped at a place called Birks or Bluntley-field. This cowardly retreat, the visible backwardness of the English to act against the Scots, if it was possible to effect a pacification, and the daily accounts that were received, magnifying the numbers and force of the rebels, who had not presumed to pursue Holland, at last awakened Charles from all his delusive dreams of subduing the covenanters. He countermanded the orders he had sent for Hamilton to act offensively, and desired him to repair to his camp,

Vane's letter to the marquis of Hamilton, July 4.

A. D. 1639. which the marquis accordingly did. Charles having called a council of war, found the members almost unanimously inclined to a treaty. There was more reason for this than formerly, as the covenanters had received fresh reinforcements; and Sir Henry Vane, on whose judgment Charles had great reliance, but who certainly was a friend to the covenanters, succeeded, at last, in persuading him, that Hamilton had good reason for desiring him not to trust to his English officers; and indeed I am inclined to think, that every motion of the covenanters was regulated by secret advices they received from the English camp.

History of
the paci-
fication at
Birke.

The covenanters, at last, left their camp, and advancing towards that of Charles, drew up their army in array. After some management on both sides, it was agreed, that the earl of Dumfermling should be admitted on the part of the covenanters to present Charles with the following petition, which I shall here give the reader, as a specimen of that great art with which the covenanters conducted themselves, and because I think it has never been published by any Scotch historian.

“ To the king’s most excellent majesty.

“ The humble petition of his majesty’s subjects of Scotland humbly sheweth, That whereas former means used by us, hath not been effectual for recovering your majesty’s favour, and the peace of this your majesty’s kingdom,

we

we fall down again at your majesty's feet, most humbly supplicating that your majesty would be graciously pleased to appoint some few of your majesty's many worthy men of your majesty's kingdom of England, who are well affected to the true religion, and common peace, to hear by some of us of the same affection, of our humble desires; and to make known to us your majesty's gracious pleasure, that as by the providence of God we are here joined in one island, and one king, so by your majesty's great wisdom and tender care, all mistaking may be speedily removed; and the two kingdoms may be kept in peace and happiness under your majesty's long and prosperous reign, for the which we shall never cease, as becomes your majesty's faithful subjects, daily to pray for your majesty's long and happy reign over us."

The English counsellors laid hold of the seeming loyalty and plausibility of this petition, and the dutiful application of the Scots in being the first who sued for peace, to persuade Charles to enter upon a negotiation; but this concession, which, had it been sincere, and unclogged with conditions, might have been attended with great effects, was not made by Charles, till the covenanters agreed, that the proclamation, which they would not suffer to be read at Edinburgh, should be read at the head of their army. This idle form being complied with, Charles named for his commissioners the earls

A. D. 1639.

of Arundel, Essex, Holland, Salisbury, and Berkshire, with Mr. secretary Cook. According to Balfour, the Scots insisted upon having a safe-conduct under the king's own hand for their commissioners, having rejected that offer by the secretary of state; and these were the earls of Rothes and Dumfermling, the lord Loudon, Sir William Douglas, Mr. Alexander Henderson, moderator of the assembly at Glasgow, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, clerk to it. The place appointed for the treaty was the earl of Arundel's (the English general's) tent, who was opening the conferences with a very grave harangue, when Charles, who, like his father, thought himself well skilled in polemic divinity, absurdly thrust himself all of a sudden into the room, with this slight apology, "That understanding the Scots gave out they could not be heard, he had come to hear them in person." The commissioners for the covenanters very properly considered this intrusion as an over-awing of the conferences; and the earl of Rothes endeavoured to give them a general turn, by saying, that all he and his friends desired, was to be secured in their religion and liberties. The earl of Loudon, who was a young man full of zeal, and just come from the university, beginning to speak, Charles interrupted him with the following words; "8th, I will not admit of any of your excuses for your by past actions; but if you come to sue for grace

grace set down your desires particularly in writing, and you shall receive your answer." A. D. 1639.

London accordingly drew up such a paper, and the king answered it. I shall not amuse the reader with the particulars of the debates that followed. It is sufficient to say, that Charles always endeavoured to keep to general terms; and every concession he made contained a kind of a defeazance, which he might (when he saw proper time) make use of to render it void. The covenanters, on the other hand, carefully marked all his expressions; and when retired from the conferences, reduced to writing his guarded positions as so many positive concessions. The pacification, at last, was concluded upon the following terms:

"First, The forces of Scotland to be disbanded and dissolved within eight and forty hours after the publication of his majesty's declaration being agreed upon. Secondly, His majesty's castles, forts, ammunitions of all sorts, and royal honours, to be delivered after the publication, so soon as his majesty can send to receive them. Thirdly, His majesty's ships to depart presently after the delivery of the castles, with the first fair wind, and in the mean time no interruption of trade or fishing. Fourthly, His majesty is graciously pleased to cause to restore all persons' goods and ships detained and arrested since the first of November last. Fifthly, There shall be no meetings, treatings, consultations,

A. D. 1639. tations, or convocations of his majesty's lieges, but such as are warrantable by act of parliament. Sixthly, All fortifications to desist, and no further work therein, and they to be remitted to his majesty's pleasure. Seventhly, To restore to every one of his majesty's subjects their liberties, lands, houses, goods, and means whatsoever, taken and detained from them by whatsoever means since the aforesaid time."

Those terms were attended by a declaration from the king, containing in substance as follows: "That though he cannot condescend to ratify and approve the acts of the pretended general assembly at Glasgow, for many weighty considerations; yet he is pleased to declare and assure, that according to the petitioners humble desires, all matters ecclesiastical shall be determined by the assembly of the kirk, and all civil matters by the parliament and other inferior judicatures established by law, and the assembly to be kept once a year." Charles then declared his will: "That a free general assembly be kept at Edinburgh the sixth day of August next, and a parliament to be held there the twentieth day of August, for ratifying what shall be concluded in the general assembly."

Which gives
universal
dissatisfac-
tion.

Never was there a more loose pacification concluded than the above was; and it is hard to say which party acted with the greatest insincerity. The Scotch deputies had promised
that

that their forces should be dismissed on the twentieth of the month, which was only two days after Charles had signed his proclamation; but when they returned to their camp, they found the pacification generally condemned. They were upbraided by the earl of Cassils, and the other noblemen, the heads of their party, that they were disarmed, and left to the mercy of Charles; whom they had been long taught to consider as a man whose word was not to be relied on. Neither the abolition of episcopacy, nor an acknowledgment of the assembly at Glasgow, had been expressly stipulated; and Charles had actually disowned the proceedings of that assembly. The deputies found that they had raised a spirit they could not quell; and to appease their countrymen, they produced a paper, containing the explanatory and concessionary notes I have already mentioned; and they insisted upon their being as binding upon Charles as the terms he had signed. Nothing can give us a stronger idea than this expedient does, of the intractable character of the covenanters at this time. The terms which the deputies had made were wise; and considering that the covenanters wanted money, and that they could not much longer have maintained their army, they were advantageous, especially as they gave their English friends a high opinion of their moderation. The outcry against them continued, however, to be so

A.D. 1639- violent, that they were obliged, a few days after the pacification was signed, to return to the English camp, and to present the paper to the earls of Arundel and Holland. They refused to receive it, as did all the other English lords; and in a council which Charles had called on the fourth of August for that very purpose, the counsellors, who had been present at the conferences upon the treaty, unanimously agreed, that the contents of the paper were notoriously scandalous and false, and contrary to what his majesty clearly expressed at the time of the pacification *. The earl of Holland, and other members of the council, who were friends to the Scots, were the loudest in disclaiming its authenticity; and at their unanimous request, it was burnt at Cheapside by the hands of the common hangman. Upon the whole, as I never heard that the signature of Charles was produced to this paper, I am of opinion it had no authenticity; and that it was a fiction of the Scotch commissioners to save themselves from the resentments of their party.

The covenanting army being thus disbanded, (though many of them still kept together in bodies) the marquis of Huntley and his son were

* Sir James Balfour, who attended Charles at this time as Lyon king at arms, in his Manuscript History expressly says, that the paper in question was signed by the king. He seems, however, to have been imposed upon by the covenanters, he himself being of their number.

freed from their imprisonment; and orders were sent for a suspension of hostilities in the north. All this was a deceitful calm. The leaders of the covenanters thought that they sufficiently provided against any resumption of the church-lands, and against all attacks upon the civil and religious liberties of their country, by Charles consenting to call a free parliament, and a general assembly. They had in view to have introduced into their government some of the fundamentals of the English constitution, for the security of their property; though they saw, from the spirit of the people, an absolute necessity for abolishing episcopacy in Scotland, however moderately exercised. While they were thus attending the result of a free parliament, all their hopes were dashed by the violence of Charles. Had he been sincere, he would even have given way to the pretended minutes that had been burnt, because they contained very little but what was explanatory of what he had actually signed. The marquis of Hamilton had even advised him to this course, and radically to abolish the episcopal order both in church and state. Charles rejected this advice, chiefly because it must have put the nomination of the lords of articles into the hands of the parliament, and consequently have diminished, if not abrogated, the royal authority in that assembly. Hamilton, however, pre-

A. D. 1639. vailed with him, before he left Berwick, to summon fourteen of the chief covenanters to attend him, that he might know their real intentions.

Balfour's
MSS.

When this summons arrived at Edinburgh, the people were more exasperated than ever against the late pacification; and many of the covenanting lords, when it was proclaimed at Edinburgh by Lyon king at arms, protested that they adhered to the assembly at Glasgow. The earl of Traquair had been insulted upon the streets of Edinburgh; and the white rod, or staff, which was carried before him as lord-treasurer, was broken by the populace. He complained to the magistrates of this outrage; but all the satisfaction he obtained was, that they presented him with a new staff, which they bought for the value of sixpence. Other insults against the servants of the crown, too numerous to be mentioned here, were committed at the same time; and the rage of the people was such, that all the noblemen whom Charles had summoned, excepting Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, were intimidated from attending him at Berwick; those three obtaining leave from the populace with the greatest difficulty. Montrose, upon conversing with the king, conceived so good an opinion of him, that he ran at once from the extreme of opposition, if not rebellion, to that of loyalty; and declared to the other two noblemen, who
seemed

seemed to be of his opinion, that he thought Charles had made all the concessions that his people could require. The three lords very frankly opened to Charles the grievances which they expected to be redressed in the next parliament; and they were such as fully justified the patriotism of the leading covenanters, had the violence of the lower ranks suffered them to follow their own inclinations.

The first grievance they complained of related to money, the value of which in Scotland was very precarious, and was alterable by proclamation from the court. It was therefore thought reasonable, that the coin should not be meddled with but by the advice of parliament. The next grievance related to the danger arising to their country from their forts being bridled by English garrisons; and therefore they insisted that no strangers should be entrusted with keeping of the castles there, nor any other person admitted into them but by advice of the states. The third grievance was of the same kind with the second; for they demanded that no stranger should have any patent of honour, but such as had a landed qualification within Scotland. This demand seems to bear hard upon the prerogative; yet it arose from the jealousy of Charles filling their parliament with his own and Laud's creatures. The next grievance related to the nuisances of heritable jurisdictions, which threw such oppressive

Grievances
complained
of by the
Scots.

A.D. 1639. powers into the hands of particular families. The lords therefore thought, that no commission of justiciary, or lieutenancy, ought to be granted but for a limited time. The last exception lay to the precedency of the lord-treasurer, lord privy-seal, and other officers of state in the Scotch parliament, which were not warranted by law, and tended to eclipse the lustre of the ancient nobility, and the landed property.

Traquair
made com-
missioner.

Charles being fully instructed as to the sentiments of, at least, the best intentioned heads of the covenanters, in which he was greatly assisted by the marquis of Hamilton, offered again to constitute that nobleman his high-commissioner in Scotland; but he had such reasons for declining the honour as satisfied Charles, and he recommended the earl of Traquair. The latter, ever since his delivering up Dalkeith, had been under a kind of cloud with Charles. He recovered the royal confidence, by putting into his hands the following letter, signed by seven leading covenanters, addressed to the king of France. "Sir, Your majesty being the refuge and sanctuary of afflicted princes and states, we have found it necessary to send this gentleman, Mr. Colvil, to represent unto your majesty the candour and ingenuity, as well of our actions and proceedings, as of our intentions, which we desire to be engraved and written to the whole world with
a beam

Treasonable
letter to the
French
king.

a beam of the sun, as well as to your majesty. A. D. 1677,
We therefore most humbly beseech you, Sir, to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our part, touching us and our affairs; being most assured, Sir, of an assistance, equal to your wonted clemency heretofore, and so often shewed to this nation, which will not yield the glory to any other whatever, to be eternally, Sir, your majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate servants, *Roths, Montrose, Lesley, Marr, Montgomery, London, Forrester.*"

Tho' this letter was never sent, and tho' it had been objected to by the earl of Lauderdale, for containing false French, yet it it a proof to what despair the covenanters were reduced at the time of its writing, and of the dependence which they had upon the French king, or rather Richlieu. Charles thought it so important an evidence in his favour, that following the advice of the marquis of Hamilton, he appointed Traquair to be his commissioner in the approaching Scotch parliament. He, at the same time, made an apology to the Scotch bishops, who remained still in the north of England, for his consenting, or intending to consent, to a temporary suspension of their authority both in church and state. With his usual duplicity, he advised them, at the same time, to enter a protest both against the parliament and the general assembly, for meeting without
their

A. D. 1639. their being summoned. After this, it would be superfluous to produce any further instance of Charles's insincerity in treating with the Scots. His intention was undoubtedly afterwards to have annulled all the acts of an assembly that had been convoked without the episcopal order being present.

*Mutual
complaints.*

Charles was at great pains in drawing up Traquair's instructions, so as to render them consistent with the late pacification; but, at the same time, as loose and equivocal as possible. When Traquair came to Edinburgh, he observed, that very little had been done in executing the treaty. The castle of Edinburgh had been indeed restored to Ruthven; but the common people continued in so great a ferment, that neither the marquis of Hamilton, nor any nobleman of known moderation, far less the friends of Charles, durst appear with safety on the streets of Edinburgh. According to bishop Burnet, the fortifications of Leith were still continued; the army of the covenanters was re-assembled, or never had been disbanded; and many other violations of the pacification still subsisted. Charles complained of all this; and we have in Balfour sixteen articles, which he sent down to Scotland, as infractions of the treaty, with a particular answer returned to each, by which it is easy to see that the covenanters were not at all disposed to resign their arms; for they even upbraided Charles with
having

*Memoirs,
p. 156.*

having deceived their commissioners in the affair of the pacification. A. D. 1639.

Matters were in this disagreeable situation, when the parliament sat down; but the commissioner was attended with very few of the covenanting nobility, and a general assembly met at the same time. Charles intended himself to have been present at both meetings; but the common people had now erected themselves into a tribunal, which disclaimed all authority, even of those who were formerly their leaders. The latter knowing that they had now nothing to depend upon but the vulgar, were obliged to submit to their dictates. The parliament suffered Traquair to name the lords of the articles, that formerly had been named by the bishops; but in all other respects they seemed to take the word of command from the general assembly. Episcopacy was in both meetings declared to be unlawful in the church of Scotland, which gave great offence to Charles. No mention was made of the assembly at Glasgow, which the party magnified as an extraordinary mark of their loyalty; and the following explanation of the covenant was agreed to.

*Proceedings
of the
Scotch parliament,*

“ We do swear not only our mutual concurrence and assistance for the cause of our religion, and to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, to stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, and his authority, in the preservation and defence of the said true religion,

A. D. 1639. gion, liberties, and laws of this kirk and kingdom; but also in every cause which may concern his majesty's honour, we shall (according to the laws of this kingdom, and duties of our good subjects) concur with our friends and followers in quiet manner, or in arms, as we shall be required of his majesty's council or any having his authority." This explanation was far from satisfying Charles, who now thought that he had committed (and he certainly had) a great solecism in politics, by treating with his own subjects. He found that the common people did not think themselves obliged to stand by the terms of pacification; and that their commissioners had never been empowered to treat for them, as their committees or tables were only occasional, and not legal, boards. He expressed his dislike of all their proceedings in very bitter terms; and in his letter to Traquair, who had himself taken the new covenant, he made no secret, that he thought he had committed a damnable sin, by agreeing to his concessions against episcopacy. In short, while the parliament was proceeding to the redress of grievances, Charles sent his commissioner orders to prorogue them, and to repair in person to London.

which is
prorogued.

Traquair, who seems to have been a man of a very narrow temporizing genius, had no friend about court but the marquis of Hamilton, who continued still to be a strenuous advocate

A. D. 1639.

vocate for moderate measures, and secretly lamented the duplicity of the king. When Traquair received the order of prorogation, he sent it to the lords of articles, under the privy-seal. Their clerk, Gibson of Durie, refused to read it; but when it was carried to the parliament-house, it was read under a protest both for its form and manner, and the meeting was for that time dissolved; but the earls of Dumfermling and Loudon were commissioned to repair to court, on the part of the Scotch parliament and assembly. Traquair, through the interest of Hamilton, was better received by Charles than could have been expected; tho' that prince was then in a dreadful situation. Laud directed his conscience, and Strafford, who was then at his court, his conduct. The least appearance of patriotism or moderation, either in civil or religious matters, was considered as disloyalty; and secretary Cook was turned out of his place, because he had been active in concluding the late pacification. The marquis of Hamilton and Sir Henry Vane continued to be still intimately connected; and they had the address to gain the queen on their side; so that Vane was appointed to succeed Cook. When Dumfermling and Loudon arrived in England, Sir Thomas Roe, who was resident for Charles at the northern courts, informed him how busy the covenanters were in buying up arms abroad; and advised him, by

A.D. 1639. all means, to make sure of general Lesley's person, who was to go to Bremen, to hasten the preparations. Charles, upon this information, refused to admit the two Scotch deputies to an audience; but ordered a committee of his council to treat with them. The deputies rejected this offer, because they had been instructed to treat with none but the king in person.

The earl of Loudon committed prisoner to the Tower of London.

1640.

Traquair finding that he had no safety but in falling in with Laud and Strafford's vile counsels, advised a fresh expedition against the covenanters; and as Charles dreaded a parliament, he had recourse to an unconstitutional subscription, or loan, in which he was liberally supplied for defraying the expence. In the mean while, the parliament, without any authority, re-assembled in Scotland, under pretence that their late prorogation was illegal, without consent of the states. One Cunningham was sent up with a remonstrance and supplication to Charles, in defence of their conduct; the earls of Loudon and Dumfermling having returned to Scotland without an audience. Charles thought he was now safe to call a parliament; and he gave Cunningham a warrant, allowing the two earls to return to court, where he gave them an audience on the third of March. The earl of Loudon, in a manly speech he made, insisted upon Charles' performing the five articles which had been agreed upon at Ber-

Berwick, and which I have already mentioned. The answer of Charles was childish and quibbling. He denied the legality of their commission; and when they produced their authority, it was voted to be insufficient by the council. He afterwards emitted a declaration, justifying his own conduct, and intending to shew that the demands of the five articles were invasions upon his prerogative; but supported by the most despotic reasons. Charles, not contented with this mark of his resentment, ordered the earl of Loudon to be sent prisoner to the Tower of London, for having signed the letter to the French king.

This commitment, and the declarations of Charles, rendered the cause of the Scots, as it was called, excessively popular in England. The earls of Essex, Bedford, and Holland, the lord Say, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Pym, had entered into secret correspondencies with the two lords-commissioners, which being discovered by Charles, would have cost Loudon his head, in a most arbitrary illegal manner, had it not been for the intercession of the marquis of Hamilton, who still had a hold in the affections of Charles. Being now determined on a fresh war with the covenanters, he sent down a supply of men, arms, and ammunition, to the castle of Edinburgh, which was still commanded by general Ruthven, now created lord Escrick, together with a letter to the magistrates of Edinburgh,

Prepara-
tions for
war on both
sides.

A. D. 1640. ordering them, under pain of high treason, to take care to lodge the supplies safely in the castle of Edinburgh. The covenanters now laid aside even the few appearances of decency which they had observed before. The noblemen and gentlemen converted their luxuries, and the ladies their jewels and paraphernalia, into supplies for the holy war, as it was called. Even women and children worked in repairing the fortifications of Leith; and they interrupted the rebuilding part of the fortifications of the castle of Edinburgh, which had fallen down. By their own authority, they summoned the states, and the leading ministers, to meet at Edinburgh on the tenth day of March; and lord Escrick was proclaimed a traitor for refusing to deliver up to them the castle of Edinburgh.

The remarkable
forgery.

The wisest among the covenanters, notwithstanding this furious party-zeal, knew that their best friends lay in England; and they wrote a letter by Loudon to the heads of the opposition there, to know what they were to trust to, in case they should invade England; desiring their friends among the English, at the same time, to enter into an association for their interest. This letter was sent to the lord Saville, because he was a profest enemy to the earl of Strafford; and Saville ordered one Darley, his secretary, to wait upon the earls of Bedford, Essex, Brook, Warwick, and the lords Say and Mandeville;

but

A. D. 1649.

but though those noblemen opposed the court, they disliked the proposal, as being at once dangerous and treasonable. This did not discourage Saville; for Darley, by his direction, forged a letter, as written to himself, from those noblemen, in consequence of his shewing them the letter from Scotland. This forgery was sent to Scotland; but none were to see it except the earls of Rothes and Argyle, and Wariston, in whose hands it was deposited. None of them suspected the forgery; so that all of them talked with great confidence of their powerful interest in England, which was confirmed by the assurances Saville made to lord Loudon. The English parliament met in a very bad humour; so that Charles soon dissolved them. The application of the Scotch noblemen to the French king had created so universal indignation in the English against the covenanters, that it was thought, if the parliament had been suffered to sit, a majority would have been for a war with Scotland. The marquis of Hamilton had too great an interest there not to advise Charles to agree to this fatal dissolution; and he prevailed upon him to set Loudon at liberty, on his promising to do his majesty all the service he could in Scotland. When the parliament was dissolved, Charles received by his loan and subscriptions three hundred thousand pounds in ready money, which he appropriated to preparations for the invasion of Scot-

A new
army raised
by Charles.

A.D. 1643. Scotland. He then proceeded to a nomination of his general officers; but omitted all who had any considerable command in the late expedition, not excepting the earl of Essex, who had served him so bravely. He appointed the earl of Northumberland to command in chief, and the earl of Strafford to be his lieutenant-general. Lord Conway was made his general of horse; and from a manuscript narrative, which he left in vindication of his own conduct, it appears, "That according to the original plan of the campaign, an army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, was designed for the borders of Scotland, near Berwick; and another of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, was to be transported out of Ireland into the town of Aire in Scotland; also ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, were to be sent into the north of Scotland; and a fleet of ships, with some soldiers in them, were to go into the Frith. These forces were to be ready at a certain day, by the act of council of war; for which purpose there were divers sums of money levied, and the monies uncertain were counted what they would do, and a state accordingly made."

Rebellious
parliament
in Scotland.

By this time, the covenanters so thoroughly disregarded the royal authority in Scotland, that they had imprisoned the earl of Southesk, and other eminent royalists. They continued the blockade of the castle of Edinburgh; and treated

ed all who refused to take the covenant as traitors. The king had ordered the parliament not to assemble; but the members notwithstanding, met on the second day of June; and perhaps no parliament ever went through so much, and such important business as it did in eight days, which was the term of its duration. As neither bishop Burnet, nor any printed history of Scotland, has given us an account of its proceedings, though they were the basis of the liberties of Scotland, both in church and state, the reader must be pleased to find an account of them in the notes * from Sir James Balfour,

* The eleventh day of this month of June, the parliament met at Edinburgh, and did elect Robert Lord Burlie to be their president in this session of parliament, in respect of the absence of the king's commissioner. This session of parliament sat only eight days, and in it were thirty-nine statutes enacted, all of them printed, some whereof were of very great consequence, namely, the second act anent the constitution of that parliament, and the subsequent parliaments. By this act, bishops, abbots, yea all manner of clergymen whatsoever, (formerly called the third estate) were for ever excluded from being one of the three estates of parliament. And the three estates, by the same act, are declared to be noblemen, barons, or the commissioners for shires, and burghs, in all time coming. This act likewise annuls and rescinds all former acts whereby churchmen under whatsoever titles, were declared the third estate of the kingdom. But lest I should over-weary the reader, I have here set down an index of these acts which are of greatest concernment.

Third act, anent chusing committees out of every estate. This is the first positive law for committees.

Fourth act, ratifying the act of the general assembly holden at Edinburgh, in the month of August, 1639, made upon the seventh day of the said month, and in the eighth session of the assembly, intitled anent the six causes of our by-past evils.

Fifth act, anent the ratification of the covenant, and of the assembly of Edinburgh holden in August 1639, their supplication,

A.D. 1640. It is sufficient to say here, that the authority of churchmen, as legislators, was radically ex-

tion, act of council, and act of assembly, concerning the covenant.

Sixth act, recissory, so called in respect it rescinds all former acts of parliament, which grants to the kirk or kirkmen of whatsoever sort, allowed or disallowed, as representing her, or in her name, the privilege of riding and voting in parliament, as prejudicial to her liberties, and incompatible with her spiritual nature; as also the said act declares, that the sole and only power and jurisdiction within this kirk, stands in the kirk of God, as it is now reformed, and in the general, provincial, and presbyterian assemblies, with sessions of the kirk, established by act of parliament in June 1592. Cap. 140, &c.

Seventh act, was a discharge of the Christmas vacance, with an ordinance appointing the session to sit down the first day of November, and rise the last day of February, and thereafter to sit down the first day of June, and rise the first day of July, yearly.

Eighth act, against the king's majesty's large manifesto, condemning it as false in many things, full of untruths and lies, derogatory to his majesty's honour, and prejudicial to his loyal subjects, and in effect a firebrand to incense the prince's fury against his people, &c. In it is declared the proceedings of James duke of Hamilton, his majesty's high-commissioner in the year 1638, until the month of August 1639, penned by Dr. Walter Balcanquhal dean of Durham, who did attend the duke as his chaplain, all the time he was in Scotland on shore. But indeed, he was Canterbury's spy, put as a watchman over the commissioner's actions, and deportment, by him and the court faction. The same Balcanquhal did communicate intelligence of all that passed in this kingdom with signior Georgio Con, the pope's legate, then resident, at the court of England also, as some of the intercepted letters can bear record.

Ninth act, called statutory, ordaining parliaments to be holden every three years.

Tenth act, anent the keepers of the castles of Edinburgh and Striveling, and Dumbarton, which ought not to be committed to any but to such persons as are known and approved by the whole course of their life, to be true and faithful subjects to his majesty; and trusty well-affected countrymen, loving and tendering the peace, prosperity and good of the whole kingdom, and the preservation and advancement of the true religion reformed,

now

stirpated; and that all former acts in their favour were repealed. The king's manifesto A. D. 1640.

now therefore, by God's providence established, and professed, and ~~entertaining~~ of unity betwixt the king and his subjects.

Eleventh act, anent the production of the public registers and records of parliament, the first session of each parliament.

Thirteenth act, discharges the granting of protections, by the lords of his majesty's privy-council and exchequer. I have omitted the twelfth act, in respect it only does discharge any proxy to have vote in parliament for ever hereafter. As also, that no foreign nobleman have place and voice in parliament, unless they have ten thousand marks of land-rent within the kingdom.

Fourteenth act, anent the exchequer, declaring the same to be only judges, to matters concerning the managing of the king's rent and casualties. This act was made to curb Traquair, then lord-treasurer, who had assumed to himself a boundless liberty of meddling and disposing upon men's estates, where he and his followers and supposits could alledge the king; to pretend the very least interest, to the great prejudice, and utter ~~striking~~ of the subject.

Fifteenth act, appoints all grievances to be given in, in plain parliament, and no otherwise, in respect of the great hurt and damage the lieges received formerly, by giving in their grievances to the clerk-register.

Sixteenth act, suppressing the distinction of spiritual and temporal lords of the session, this act rescinded and annulled that article of the fifth parliament of king James the fifth, anent the institution of the college of justice for ever hereafter, excluded all churchmen from being lords of the session.

Seventeenth act, against leasing making of whatsoever quality, office, place, or dignity. This act was purposely made to catch Traquair, the treasurer, Sir John Hay, clerk-register, Sir Robert Spotswood, president of the session, Maxwell, bishop of Ross, and others, who, by ranting and lying, had done much mischief to this kingdom; and, in effect, had given many bad informations to his majesty, and council of England, contrary to the truth, and what was really done, and acted by the covenanters.

Eighteenth act, annulling all unlawful proclamations made under the pain of treason, commanding things unjust and unlawful, tending to the overthrow and prejudice of the laws and liberties of kirk and kingdom.

A. D. 1640: was condemned as false, full of untruths and lies, and, in fact, a firebrand. In short, this parliament, upon the whole, took from the king all executive power; but the reader, upon inspection of the note, will find many of their acts highly worthy of a people, who were determined to live free, without being frightened by menaces, or the sounds of prerogative.

The king
gains Mon-
tröse.

The constitution of Scotland being thus new modelled, both parties proceeded in their levies of men and money. The earl of Stirling, secretary of state for Scotland *, being dead, he was succeeded in that post by the earl of Lanerk, brother to the marquis of Hamilton; a promotion which was far from being disagreeable to the covenanters. They were,

Nineteenth act, explaining the preceding acts of parliament made against bonds and conventions among subjects; as also declaring the bonds and conventions made and kept, since the beginning of the present troubles, to be legal and lawful.

The thirty-eighth and nineteenth acts of this index, is ordaining the whole subjects and lieges of this kingdom to obey, maintain, and defend the conclusions, acts, and constitutions of this present session of parliament, and to subscribe the bond appointed for that effect.

This session of parliament sat eight days; and among many other statutes enacted their nineteen, or rather twenty, above-written, which are these, most memorable, to be recommended to posterity, as exhibiting the real greatest change, at one blow, that ever happened to this church and state these six hundred years by past; for, in effect, it overturned not only the ancient state-government, but fettered monarchy with chains, and set new limits and marches to the same, beyond which it was not legally to proceed.

* This nobleman had an American title, the only one I find upon record, being created viscount of Canada, which then belonged to the crown of England.

how-

however, not a little disconcerted in the choice of their military officers. The chief command was again given to Lesley; but Montrose, who had been gained by Charles, was the best officer in the field. The motive of this sudden transition is uncertain; but I am inclined to attribute it to levity, or disappointed ambition; for he does not seem to have been a man of principle. He had gone greater lengths than any of the party against the king and his best friends; and I can see nothing in their conduct that could rationally prevail with him to change his party, which he had certainly done for some time before this period. The covenanters more than suspected that he had been brought over by the king; and his apologist, bishop Wishart, pretends, that he had discovered the covenanting principles to be republican; and that the leaders of the party intended to extirpate kingly government. That many, perhaps the most sensible, of them, were of republican principles, can scarcely be doubted; but the sense of the nation certainly lay towards monarchy; and Montrose's conduct hitherto had subjected him to the charge of republicanism more than any other subject in Scotland. All his dissimulation could not cover him from suspicion; and the following paper was affixed to his chamber-door: "Invictus armis, verbis vincitur; Unconquered by arms, he is subdued by words." His in-

A.D. 1640.

terest, however, and the reputation he had acquired, bore down all suspicion; and though the covenanters, by the treaty of Birks, had engaged to disband all their troops, yet Montrose not only had credit enough to continue at the head of his regiment, (which was the best in their service) but he received now the command of another.

The invasion of England being agreed on, Montrose seemed to be the most forward of all the covenanting general officers to push their differences with Charles beyond all possibility of a reconciliation. Some of them prevailed in procuring a kind of remonstrance, which was sent to the earl of Lanerk; and Charles ordered him to give them a very soft answer, till, by his oppressive methods of raising money, he could be at the head of a formidable army. Those measures ruined his affairs. The citizens of London, and men of property, refused to contribute either to the loan or the ship-money; and the soldiers mutinied in many places for want of pay. The earl of Northumberland, who was general, pretended sickness; and the earl of Strafford was not yet recovered from a distemper, which was both real and dangerous. The command of the army therefore fell upon lord Conway, who found the inhabitants of the northern parts very cold, if not averse, to the service. He was sent with orders to fortify Newcastle, which

The Scots
invade
England.

which he found impracticable, especially as the inhabitants refused to assist them. The militia of Northumberland were without arms; and he had not credit enough to procure any; nor would Sir Jacob Ashley, who was serjeant-major, and who lay at Selby, spare him any men. Charles ordered him to burn the suburbs of Newcastle, and the shipping in the harbour; and Strafford in his letters upbraided him with pusillanimity, inconsistency, and credulity. By this time, the Scots had entered England with twenty-five thousand men. Bishop Burnet, in his History of his own Times, paints them in a very ridiculous light, for which I can find no authority. That they had a drove of cattle with them for their food is very probable; but that each soldier should carry a week's provision of oatmeal, and that they had no other guns but what were of white iron tinned, and done about with leather, and corded, so that they could serve only for two or three discharges, is highly absurd. The covenanters had, for years before, exhausted their money in procuring arms from abroad; and we have no reason to think that they were not as good and substantial as those of the English, especially as their execution was superior. The Scotch army being arrived on the borders, the command of the van-guard was committed to Montrose, and consisted chiefly of his own two regiments, the one raised in Perth-

A.D. 1644.

Burnet's
History,
vol. i.

A. D. 1640. Perthshire, and the other in Angus. The army was attended by committees from the states, in the nature of field deputies, without whose consent, nothing of importance was to be undertaken. The invasion was conducted with the utmost art and address. The Scotch pedlars, all of them zealous for the cause, gave their countrymen the most minute intelligence as to the enemy's motions, while the latter were entirely ignorant of theirs.

and take
possession of
Newcastle.

The Scotch army had prepared a manifesto, under the title of Six Considerations, of the lawfulness of their expedition into England, in which they insisted strongly upon the interruption of their trade by the king's ships of war, and upon the king being beset with evil counsellors, who had obstructed their just requests from coming to his majesty's ears. They complained of the lord Escrick, governor of the castle of Edinburgh, having, in his defence of that fortress, killed many inhabitants of the city; and even appealed to the case of the Leaguers in France as a justification of their own invasion, which they said was purely defensive, though they avowed that they were prepared to march into the bowels of England with a sword in one hand, and the Solemn League and Covenant, or a bible, in the other. Lesley, at this time, remained at Edinburgh, and received the surrender of that castle, which Escrick could not defend,

defend, as his garrison was entirely destitute of water. Before he returned to the army, Montrose passed the Tweed, himself wading the river, and being the first man in the army who set his foot on the English ground. Their committees were six noblemen, six gentlemen, and six burgeses, who sat in all their councils of war; and Lesley having now joined them, their progress was so rapid, that the lord Conway, upon whom the whole service of the English army lay, was distracted how to behave. The subjects of the north of England refused to take the field without money, and he had none to give them. He was in no condition to fortify the castle; and he resolved, after much deliberation, to make a stand at Newbourn, where, in all probability, the Scots would attempt their passage. On the twenty-seventh of August, Lesley demanded liberty to pass the river with his army, that his countrymen might present their petition to the king; but Charles had proclaimed the Scots traitors upon their entering England, and Conway paid no regard to their request. The narrative of Conway, and that of the field deputies of the Scots, though they differ in many particulars, agree upon the whole. It is plain, that the English were out-generalled by the Scots, who passed the river under a vast discharge of their artillery. Till then it is said, that the English had been fed with a notion

A. D. 1640.

Balfour's
MSS.

A.D. 1640. that the Scotch army had no fire-arms of any kind; and bishop Burnet himself says, that the discharge of their cannon struck the English as if it had been magic. Great deference, however, is to be paid to the account transmitted by the committees who attended the army to their principals at Edinburgh; and from them I can perceive nothing that can warrant any suspicion of surprize. As soon as the Scots reached the southern banks of the river, the English cavalry retreated to a hill on the right; instead of covering their infantry on the left. Wilmot, who was an excellent officer, opposed them with six troops, which were drawn up in the front; but Ballenden, a brave Scotch officer, wheeled to attack the reserved body of the English, who being put into disorder by the Scotch artillery, the cavalry under lord Conway refused to fight, and Wilmot himself was taken prisoner.

The errors of the English generals on this important day are scarcely credible. Their loss was not above three-score men; and instead of fighting the Scots, which they might have done; after the latter had passed the river by a conduct so truly military, Conway ordered his horse to march to Durham, and his foot to Newcastle, though he knew before-hand that it was untenable, and had resolved not to defend it. Charles and the earl of Strafford seem, upon this occasion, to have been under the same
infa-

A. D. 1640.

infatuation as Conway. They sent him orders to retire to Hull with his army, and to leave only two thousand foot in the castle, though they knew it to be untenable. The event was, that the Scots, after passing the river, entered Newcastle without opposition, and took possession of all the royal magazines, which were very considerable. An imposition of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day was laid upon the town and the neighbouring counties; and the earl of Lothian was appointed governor of Newcastle, with a garrison of two thousand two hundred men.

Charles, with the bulk of his army, had advanced as far as Northallerton, when they heard of Conway's retreat; upon which he returned to York, attended by the earl of Strafford. Both parties were at this time in a very disagreeable situation. Charles had forces sufficient to have over-run all Scotland; but the behaviour of Conway's detachment made him afraid to trust them. The Scots, on the other hand, relying on Saville's forgery, were surprized, that as they had made an offensive war against England, they heard of no rising in their favour. They knew that their contributions must soon render the inhabitants their enemies, which might have been attended with fatal consequences; and they more than suspected that they had been betrayed by their English friends. They therefore wisely availed themselves of their success, and sent a very dutiful

Situation of
both parties.

A. D. 1640. petition to Charles, enclosed in a letter to the earl of Lanerk. Before this petition came to the king's hands, he had determined to revive a very ancient custom, which was that of summoning a great number of his peers to York for their advice. The earl of Strafford alone was for fighting. He represented to Charles the indignation which every true Englishman entertained at seeing their finest counties laid under contribution: that laying aside all lesser animosities, they would unite under him for revenge; and that even if he was defeated, he could be in no worse estate than he was. Charles would instantly have followed Strafford's advice, but it was unseconded; and the marquis of Hamilton, who was still distinguished by the most unlimited confidence, strenuously advised him to pacific measures. He was, therefore, in a manner constrained to order Lanerk to demand from the Scots a specific detail of their grievances, which they joyfully sent in as follows.

**Demands of
the Scots.**

“First, That his majesty would be graciously pleased to command, that the last acts of parliament may be published in his highness's name, as our sovereign lord, with the estates of parliament convened by his majesty's authority. Secondly, That the castle of Edinburgh, and other strengths of the kingdom of Scotland, may, according to the first foundation, be furnished and used for our defence and security.

Thirdly,

A. D. 1640.

Thirdly, That our countrymen, in his majesty's dominions of England and Ireland, may be freed from censure for subscribing the covenant, and be no more pressed with oaths and subscriptions, unwarrantable by your laws, and contrary to their national oath and covenant, approved by his majesty. Fourthly, That the common incendiaries, which have been the authors of this combustion, may receive their just censure. Fifthly, That all our ships and goods, with all the damage thereof, may be restored. Sixthly, That the wrongs, losses and charges, which all this time we have sustained, may be repaired. Seventhly, That the declarations made against us as traitors may be recalled in the end, by the advice and counsel of the state of England convened in parliament, and that his majesty may be pleased to remove the garrisons from the borders, and any impediments which may stop free trade, and with their advice to condescend to all particulars that may establish a stable and well-grounded peace, for the enjoying of our religion and liberties, against all force, molestation, and undoing, from year to year, or as our adversaries shall take the advantage."

The paper, in which those demands were engrossed, contained an apology for the invaders having marched so far into England; and was signed by the earls of Rothes, Montrose, Cassils, Dumfermling, and eleven gentlemen of figure and interest. Notwithstanding

Petitions
presented to
Charles.

A. D. 1640. ing the high terms they demanded, they were at this time on the point of submitting to the royal mercy, and giving up the names of the English, who they imagined had promised to join the invasion. It was with difficulty they were prevented from this, by some secret friends they had in the English army. By their advice, they writ a very affectionate letter from Newcastle to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, inviting them to continue the Newcastle trade, and promising them all manner of security. This was a wise and seasonable expedient, and laid the foundation of the friendship that afterwards subsisted between the covenanters and the citizens of London. It encouraged the latter to petition the king to call an English parliament; and they were seconded by the earls of Bedford, Essex, Hertford, Warwick, Bristol, and other popular noblemen. The gentlemen of Yorkshire presented another petition to the same purpose; and all parties exclaimed against the increase and boldness of papists. It was about this time that sir William Boswell, who was resident from Charles at the Hague, discovered the deep part which Richlieu had taken in fomenting the troubles of Charles; and the queen of Bohemia's friends pretended that the Roman catholics about the court had formed a plot for poisoning both the king and his archbishop. Charles paid no regard to those discoveries, which yet probably were invented by

by the queen of Bohemia to break the credit of the papists about his court; but he ordered writs for the parliament to meet on the third day of November ensuing.

On the twenty-fourth day of September, the great council of peers met at York; and the following noblemen were appointed to treat with the Scotch commissioners: the earls of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol, Holland, Berkshire; viscount Mandeville; the lords Wharton, Paget, Brook, Paulet, Howard, Saville and Dunsmore. The earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanerk, were appointed by the Scotch committee of parliament to act as assistants to those noblemen, by removing any impediments that might arise from their ignorance of the Scotch forms and constitution. Secretary Vane, Mr. Lewis Stuart, and sir John Burrough, were, in like manner, appointed assistants to the Scotch commissioners. York was proposed as the place of treaty; but the Scots affected so much horror at the presence of Strassford, that Rippon was pitched upon. The commissioners named by the Scots were the earl of Dumfermling, lord Loudon, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir William Douglas, Mr. Smith, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Johnston. In the private instructions given to those commissioners, a copy of which is to be found in Balfour's Manuscript, they are instructed to demand forty thousand pounds sterling a month; and

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Great
council of
the peers at
York.

A. D. 1640.

and that the sea, and the post roads, be opened between Newcastle and Scotland; but they were to except against the presence of the earl of Traquair. The first meeting was held at Rippon, on the second day of October. The earl of Bristol acted as chairman for the English commissioners; and I perceive by a letter to the committee of the Scotch army, that the debates entered pretty deep into the ancient constitution of Scotland, which they said had been violated by the prelates, the earl of Traquair, and their other ministers of state. As this was an argument which had never occurred to the English commissioners, it certainly had weight. They likewise objected to the earls of Morton and Lanerk, assisting at the conferences; and those declinatures (as they were called) were transmitted to the king, with the demands of the Scots.

Balfour's
MSS.

Conferences
open at
Rippon be-
tween the
Scots and
English.

The disproportion of the quality of the commissioners of the two kingdoms, is a striking proof how earnest the English were to bring this treaty to a good issue. Of the eight Scotch, two only were noble, and some of the other six scarcely deserved the name of gentlemen; while the sixteen English commissioners were of the best blood of that kingdom. Before Charles could return his answer, the earl of Rothes, though no commissioner, upbraided the lord Mandeville for not appearing in the field, according to the engagement he and his friends

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A. D. 1640.

friends had made under their hands. Mandevile appearing surprized at this challenge, Rothes put into his hand the paper, which being communicated to the other pretended subscribers, the forgery appeared to be so artful, that the parties could scarcely disown the names for their own hand-writing; but, at last, there could be no doubt as to the imposition. This discovery served only to render the Scots more peremptory than ever. They were now freed from all their apprehensions of having been betrayed by their English friends; and they insisted upon their former demands. Charles would gladly have transferred the treaty to York; but the Scots refused to comply; and no cessation having been formally agreed upon, the earl of Strafford ordered a party of his horse to attack one of the Scots in the bishopric of Durham, which was accordingly defeated. Lesley, and the other Scotch generals, complained so loudly of this, that Charles gave orders to desist from any hostilities, during the treaty.

The commissioners on both sides, all this while, treated each other not only with politeness but confidence. The Scots again and again protested, that all they meant was to concur with the English parliament in bounding the prerogative, in circumscribing the influence of the clergy, checking the progress of popery, and settling the constitution of both kingdoms upon

Preliminaries agreed on.

A. D. 1649. upon the principles of liberty and natural equity. To conciliate the affections of the English the more, they had treated Wilmot, and the other English officers they had taken prisoners, with the greatest tenderness and generosity; and having freely restored them to their liberty, they were loud in proclaiming and recommending the regularity and discipline of the Scotch army. The latter, however, still continued their contributions. The river Tees was made the boundary for both armies; and Charles was pressed by a party of his English counsellors to remove the conferences from Rippon to London. This removal was extremely agreeable to the Scots, who had so lately made the Londoners their friends; and Charles was obliged to give way to it, especially as the earl of Strafford openly declared, that there was no other way, than by a treaty, to prevent the city of York and Yorkshire from falling into the hands of the Scots, because the royal army was not to be depended upon. But a discovery made about this time gave the covenanters great disquiet.

Correspondence of Montrose with the king discovered.

I have already mentioned that Montrose was a secret convert to the royal party. He was incomparably the best officer they had; but his private correspondence with Charles was now so fully discovered, that it was in vain for him to deny it longer; and he not only avowed, but justified it, from the language which their
own

own commissioners used towards that sovereign. A. D. 1640.
General Lesley, who had intercepted one of the letters, mentioned an act, which had passed in a committee of the last Scotch parliament, that none should, under pain of death, write any letters to the court, unless they were seen and allowed of by, at least, three of the committee. Though the authority of this act was more than questionable, yet Lesley insisted upon Montrose being tried by a court-martial, and shot at the head of the army. Nothing prevented this advice being followed, but the high reputation and interest of Montrose, which would have been sufficient to have enabled him to have made a division in the army. Montrose, therefore, escaped; and the treaty going on, a truce was concluded upon the twenty-sixth day of October. It was agreed, that the Scots, while their army remained in England, should continue to raise their contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day. A free intercourse and commerce was restored between the two nations; and the victuals and other necessities imported by the Scots for the use of their army, were to be duty free. It is no wonder that Charles beheld those proceedings with the utmost indignation. It was the twenty-sixth day of October before the cessation was agreed on; and therefore it was impossible to finish the treaty before the third day of November, when the parliament was to meet. Charles

A.D. 1640. offered to consent either to disband or to reduce both armies; but the Scots would agree to neither; and he was reduced to borrow from the Londoners, who lent it on the faith of the peers, two hundred thousand pounds, for maintaining his own army. He was, therefore, obliged to ratify all that had been done at Rippon, and to hurry up to London, leaving the earl of Strafford behind him, to take care of the peace of the north.

Strafford was now sensible of his own unpopularity, which disabled him from serving Charles farther. He begged to be excused from his attendance in parliament; but Charles was still so infatuated, that he undertook to protect him from all his enemies. The reader, perhaps, needs not be informed that the house of commons now called was composed of the greatest men that England had ever seen, and that both Strafford and Laud afterwards fell the public victims of their displeasure. But I must now attend the proceedings in Scotland, which were greatly influenced by the prosperous state of their affairs in England.

The castle
of Edin-
burgh sur-
rendered.

Lord Elscrick had very gallantly defended the castle of Edinburgh till he and his garrison, which did not consist of above two hundred men, appeared like spectres. The acting men in Scotland, during this siege, were the earl of Argyle, and general (or, as he is called, colonel) Monro. The former, all along, thought that

A. D. 1640.

no medium was to be observed between the severest hostilities and the king's granting all the constitutional demands of the covenanters. The majority of the people in the north of Scotland continued still to be well affected to Charles, and were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the late parliament, because it had been convoked without the royal authority. The pacification of Birks had, notwithstanding, disarmed the royalists; but the earl of Argyle sheltering himself under the parliamentary, which was the only authority then in Scotland, marched through Athol with five thousand men, where he seized all the royalists in that country, laid the inhabitants under large contributions, and sent the earl of Athol himself prisoner to Stirling castle, but obliged him to raise a regiment of five hundred men for the service of the covenant. During the same expedition, he took and demolished the house of Airly, which lord Ogilvie had been obliged to abandon; and he plundered all the royalists in those parts. According to Balfour, during this expedition he observed a very exact discipline, hanged some of his men for robbing, treated all who did not take the covenant as rebels, and disbanded his army about the twenty-seventh day of July.

Monro was then at the head of an army, with which he over-awed the Gordons, Bamfshire, Aberdeenshire, with the adjacent coun-

Ravages by
Monro and
Argyle in
Scotland.

A.D. 1640. ties, and sent the chief of the royalists prisoners to Edinburgh. He besieged and took the house of Drum, belonging to Sir Alexander Irwin, a man of great estate and family; and for some time he met with no opposition. From Aberdeen, upon which he exacted large contributions, he marched northward, still maintaining his army upon the estates of the anti-covenanters, and sending themselves to prison, wherever he could find them. He was well seconded by the Forbeses and the Frasers, from the antipathy which those two families had to the Gordons; and after pillaging the marquis of Huntley's estate, he marched into Murray, where he dispossessed the bishop, Guthrie (not he who was the author of the *Memoirs*) of his castle of Spynie. He was the most moderate, but, at the same time, the most inflexible, of all the Scotch prelates; and though an enemy to Laud, he had never made any concessions that could affect the liberties of his country, on the side either of the royalists or the covenanters. Monroe obliged him to enter into recognizances to appear when called for, and returned to Bamf, about the same time that a general assembly was held at Aberdeen. At Bamf he destroyed the magnificent seat and gardens of Sir George Ogilvie, then reckoned to be the finest in Scotland, and ravaged the rest of his estate. This was about the time that the earl of Argyle surprised the castle of Dumbarton,

The large sums raised by the Scotch army in England, their living at their ease in a fine country, and the other advantages they enjoyed, had enabled them to purchase arms, and to reduce their army into excellent order. The conferences being adjourned to London, the following noblemen and gentlemen were appointed committees of parliament: John earl of Rothes, Charles earl of Dumfermling, lord Urquhart, John lord Loudon, Sir Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, William Drummond of Riccarton, John Smith of Edinburgh, Mr. Alexander Wedderburn of Dundas, and Hugh Kennedy of Aire. To them were joined Mr. Alexander Henderson and Mr. Archibald Johnston, who were to act as commissioners for the church. Their instructions were very ample; and whatever professions the party made, it is certain that they considered no other power, either civil or religious, existing in Scotland but themselves. When the English parliament met, they took exception at the king calling the Scots traitors, in his speech, and censured one of their own members for repeating the same term. They approved of all that had been done at Rippon, and appointed the same commissioners to treat with those of Scotland at London.

A. D. 1640.
Scotch
committees
in England

The Scots by this time would have been glad to have returned, after obtaining proper terms,

arrive at
London,

A. D. 1640. terms, to their own country. Some of them had the same dangerous views with the ill-affected part of the English; but their numbers and interests were so small, that they durst not avow their intentions. They took care, however, to throw in such objections to the payment of the royal army, that it remained still on foot, which made it unsafe for the Scots to think of quitting their arms; though they perceived plainly, that if their ruinous contributions continued, they must render all the north of England their enemies. When their commissioners arrived at London, they were received by the citizens as if they had been their nearest relations; and the use of St. Antholine's church was appropriated to the use of their preachers. The earl of Rothes was far from entering into the dangerous designs of some, who would gladly have put an end to the treaty; but the disaffected English sufficiently intimated, that if his countrymen did not stand by their English friends, they should be left to the king's mercy. Upon the whole, therefore, as the resolution was now taken by the leaders of the opposition in England, to cut off the heads of archbishop Laud and the earl of Strafford, they looked upon the Scotch army as their best friends. Besides the two great offenders, (as they were called) they obliged secretary Windebank, because he was a papist, to leave the kingdom; and, at last, the

the city of London presented a petition to parliament against the hierarchy and government of the church of England by bishops. The Scotch commissioners petitioned against Laud and Strafford, as being the two male-agents who had endeavoured to subvert the civil and ecclesiastical liberties of Scotland. The charge against Laud was well-supported; and it might easily have been proved that he usurped a more than metropolitan power over that church. It would have been impossible to have carried those measures, which fundamentally overthrew all the ideas of religion and government that had been so dear to Charles, had it not been that the Scotch army still lay in England. Some excellent patriots among the English joined with the disaffected party in their first votes against the unconstitutional power that had been exercised both in church and state, without foreseeing that the destruction of both was intended. The house of commons voted three hundred thousand pounds to be a fit proportion for the friendly assistance and relief of the losses and necessities of their brethren of Scotland; "and that in convenient time the house will consider how to raise it." This was a mortifying vote to Charles, who had but a few days before publicly called those men rebels, whom his parliament now termed brethren; but he was obliged to submit to all. The commissioners returned thanks
to

A. D. 1640.

1641.

A. D. 1642. to the house for their vote, which was for a larger sum than they had expected.

A counter-covenant signed.

The parliament continued still to sit in Scotland by its own authority ; for no royal commissioner presided in it. They raised men and money by their own votes ; and obliged the subjects to bring in their plate, which was to be coined for the use of the state ; and the leaders of the covenanters were to give bonds for repaying the value. An affair now came to light, which bade fair to overthrow the covenanting interest in Scotland. Among the first-fruits of Montrose's conversion to the royal cause, was a counter-covenant, which he procured to be signed in a meeting with some of his friends at Cumbernauld, the earl of Wigton's house. The first who signed were the earls of Montrose and Wigton, the lords Fleming, Boyd, and Almond ; and afterwards the earls of Marishal, Mar, Athol, Kinghorn, Perth, Hume, and Seaforth ; the lords Stormont, Erskine, Drummond, Ker, Napier, and others. This bond associated the whole of the subscribers, in the terms of the covenant, to stand by the king, who they thought had given them all reasonable satisfaction. They began to be disgusted with the prodigious powers exercised by the preachers (who were generally a set of illiberal enthusiasts) over all degrees of the other subjects ; and they thought it was now high time to check their influence.

The

The earl of Argyle, who had taken the lead during the absence of their army in England, in all parliamentary and military cases, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to Montrose and his friends, who thought themselves so secure, that they were at very little pains to keep the secret. Argyle got a full account of it from Levingston lord Almond, who had the first command under Lesley in the Scotch army, and was afterwards earl of Callendar.

Argyle having reported his discovery to the committee of estates, which sat at Edinburgh in the interval of parliament, Montrose and the other associators were summoned to appear before their board. Had Argyle listened to the violence of the preachers, the associators must have lost their heads; but they were too powerful a party to be capitally proceeded against; and all that the committee did was to oblige them to give up the association. This satisfied the clergy only in part; and they threatened to excommunicate the associators, if they did not (when called upon) appear before the general assembly, and declare that the bond did not bind them to the performance of their oath. Montrose continued to brave both the committee and assembly; and upon the re-assembling of the parliament on the twenty-fifth of May, he charged Argyle and the chief covenanters with a design to depose the king.

Conspiracies there,

A. D. 1641. One Mr. Graham, a clergyman, was examined before the committee, as to the charge against Argyle. He gave for his author Murray, another clergyman; and, at last, it landed upon the earl of Montrose, who affirmed, that when the earl of Athol, and eight other gentlemen of that country, were prisoners in Argyle's tent, the latter said publicly, "That they had consulted lawyers and divines concerning the deposing of the king, and had gotten resolution that it might be done in three cases: first, desertion; second, invasion: third, vendition; and that once they thought to have done it at the last sitting of parliament, and would do it at the next sitting thereof." Montrose gave Mr. John Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, one of the gentlemen present, for his author, and engaged for his appearance.

Montrose
committed
to the castle
of Edin-
burgh.

To do Montrose justice, he acted very openly in the affair; for he immediately secured Stuart, lest he should retract his words. He was brought to Edinburgh, where he justified Montrose in all he said against Argyle; on which he was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, Argyle having denied the whole of the charge with the deepest asseverations. Stuart, in a few days after, having had some talk with Balmerino and Dury, Argyle's two principal friends, sent Argyle a letter, retracting all he had said against him; and pretended that he had been persuaded by Montrose, lord Napier,
Sir

Sir George Stirling, and Sir Andrew Stuart, to send to the king a copy of the words, which had been forged by himself out of hatred to his lordship; and that the bearer of the letter was one captain Stuart. This last mentioned gentleman was intercepted with his dispatches in his return from Charles; and such discoveries were made, that Montrose, the lord Napier, Sir George Stirling, and Sir Andrew Stuart, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh. Argyle, by the advice of Sir Thomas Hope, very wisely resolved, that Stuart, the informer, should suffer death, to clear themselves from having tampered with him; and he was beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh. Bishop Guthrie, then minister of Stirling, seems to think that he bore false witness against himself. "This, says he, made him querulous against himself, as being the cause of his own death." But though this prelate expresses himself in this manner, I am inclined to think, that the criminal's pusillanimity might be owing to the falshood of the original charge, and his own absurd manner of conducting it, from a belief that Argyle would save him. As to Montrose, he can be accused of no duplicity, because, if the charge was false, he must have been imposed upon by his informer Stuart.

The great objection that lay with Charles against the proceedings of the Scotch parliament,

Charles agrees to all the demands of the Scots.

A.D. 1641. ment, was its having assembled not only without, but against, his authority; but Charles was now brought so low by the execution of his favourite Strafford, the impeachment and imprisonment of Laud, and the concessions he was obliged to make, that he listened to the advice of the marquis of Hamilton; which was, that he should overlook the irregularity of the Scotch parliament, as being a mere matter of form, because the Scots did not pretend that their acts were conclusive without his ratification. This doctrine, however, seems to have been invented by the marquis himself; for I apprehend, that if Charles had continued to refuse his consent, the members would have deemed their acts valid, upon the old principles of their constitution. Charles agreed to do every thing that the marquis desired, and ratified the proceedings of the parliament then sitting; and consented, that the disposal of the forts, the appointing the great officers of state, and the judges, should be done by the advice of parliament; and that the form of church government should be as they had established it, purely presbyterian. As for the other demands of the parliament, the reimbursement of their expences and the punishment of offenders, Charles referred the first to the English parliament. After a long struggle, the number of the offenders who were to be proscribed, were reduced to the earl of Traquair,

traquair, the bishop of Ross, Sir Robert Spottwood, Sir John Hay, and Dr. Balcanquhal, who had drawn the declaration against the Scots. Charles thought, that, as a man of honour, he could not consent to the proscriptions of those persons, merely for their zeal in his service. He said, that he had stronger objections to some of the covenanters than they could have to the persons they excepted. They pleaded the oaths they were under to prosecute them, and the number of delinquents who they consented should be pardoned. It was at last agreed, that the proceedings should go on against them in the courts of Scotland; but that their censure should be remitted to the king, and that he should not employ them in Scotch affairs, without consent of parliament. The marquis of Hamilton was blamed for having abandoned Traquair, after having got his own name struck out of the list of delinquents; but he pleaded, that the names of the earl of Huntley, and many other obnoxious royalists, had been struck out likewise. He represented to Charles, that the direction of the parliament of Scotland was in a few hands; that it was easy to bring them over to his majesty's interest; and that the best thing he could do would be to visit that kingdom in person.

The tendency of this advice was not very justifiable, if Charles meant that his concessions should be permanent, rather than temporary.

A. D. 1642.

He intends
a visit to
Scotland.

A. D. 1631. rary. It was, however, seconded by some of the Scotch commissioners, who pretended to pity the king's situation in England, and that the Scots would assist him against all his enemies. Charles was brought over to this opinion, and informed the English parliament of his intended journey. The treaty between the Scotch and English commissioners had been materially agreed upon; but it was not yet executed, as the money which had been voted was not raised; and the Scots had, besides the claim of three hundred thousand pounds, a demand of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds arrears, all which must be paid before they could withdraw their army from England; and a much larger sum was due to the English army. Upon the whole, a great party, even of the English royalists, were against the king's journey to Scotland; but made no objection to the Scotch commissioners receiving, as they did, full parliamentary security for the payment of all their arrears in two years.

The secret correspondence which Charles continued with Montrose and his Scotch friends, determined him upon the journey; but they advised him not to dispose of any posts or preferments, (though I can see none he could dispose of) till his arrival at Edinburgh. This correspondence was partly discovered by the heads of the opposition in England; and construed into a dangerous tendency, as if the intention

tention of Charles was to put himself at the head of the Scotch army ; in which case, he would certainly be joined by that of England. This surmise produced several very undutiful remonstrances, which opened the eyes of many in the house of commons. They began to think they had been the tools of a faction, who were to be satisfied with nothing less than an entire abolition of monarchy, as well as episcopacy. A visible coldness now succeeded between the Scotch commissioners and their English friends. The former presented reasons to the house of commons, why the king should not put off his journey to Scotland longer than the tenth day of August, on which day he passed the bills that were ready ; and leaving a commission for passing others, he set out for his native country.

I am apt to think that it was owing to the influence of the marquis of Hamilton, and his brother the secretary-earl of Lanerk, that Charles, when he came to Newcastle, did not attempt to put himself at the head of the Scotch army. All he did was to caress Lesley, and the other chief officers, and to promise that he would conform himself entirely to the religion of the church of Scotland, and perform all the concessions he had made to his parliament. He was attended by the prince Palatine, the duke of Lenox, the marquis of Hamilton, lord Willoughby, and other persons of distinction ;
but,

State of affairs there.

A. D. 1641. but when he arrived in Scotland, he found the state of affairs very different from what he expected. The debt owing to the Scotch army by the English, though secured, had not been discharged; and as vast sums were due to particular persons, they were backward in entering upon any measures that might endanger the payment. The Scotch parliament was then sitting, and lord Balmerino had been elected its president. That nobleman and his family lay under great obligations, as may be seen in this history, to Charles and his father; but by his behaviour, he seemed to have forgot them all. Before the arrival of Charles, Montrose and his friends had undergone examinations, and been recommitted to prison. This did not prevent Montrose from considering himself as the head of all the royalists in Scotland. The marquis of Hamilton and his brother espoused the moderate party (as they were called); but they could not destroy the confidence which Charles had now placed in Montrose. On the seventeenth day of August, he appeared in his parliament, and made the following speech.

His speech
to the par-
liament.

“ My lords and gentlemen,
“ There hath nothing been so displeasing to me, as those unlucky differences which have happened between me and my people; and nothing that I have more desired, than to see this day, wherein I hope not only to settle those unhappy mistakings, but rightly to know, and to be known to my native country.

“ I need not tell you (for I think it is well known to most) what difficulties I have passed through and overcome, to be here at this present : yet this I will say, if love to my native country had not been a chief motive to this journey, other respects might easily have found a shift to do that by a commission, which I am come to perform myself. And this considered, I cannot doubt of such real testimonies of your affections for the maintenance of that royal power, which I enjoy after an hundred and eight descents, and which you have professed to maintain, and to which your own national oath doth oblige you, that I shall not think my pains ill bestowed.

“ Now the end of my coming is shortly this : To perfect whatsoever I have promised ; and withal, to quiet the distractions which have and may fall out amongst you. And this I mind not superficially, but fully and chearfully to perform ; for I assure you, that I can do nothing with more chearfulness, than to give my people a general satisfaction. Wherefore, not offering to endear myself unto you in words (which indeed is not my way) I desire in the first place, to settle that which concerns the religion and just liberties of this my native country, before I proceed to any other act.”

I have given the whole of this speech, which I dare to say was of the king's own composing, to shew how incurable his prepossessions for

A. D. 1641. prerogative were ; for even while he was making professions that almost annihilated it, he was desiring his parliament to maintain his royal power, which he enjoyed after an hundred and eight descents.

where he
is forced to
gratify all
his enemies.

The proceedings of this parliament continued to be violent. They encreased the number of delinquents beyond what had been limited by their commissioners. They extended the most horrible penal laws against those who did not take the covenant ; and they obliged Charles to receive their nomination of all his officers of state. The great seal was given to the earl of Loudon, though Charles had designed it for the earl of Morton. He intended to have made the lord Almond his treasurer ; but he was forced to put that place into commission, which consisted of the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Lothian, and Lindsay. The privy-seal was given to the earl of Roxburgh ; Lanerk was continued secretary of state ; Sir Thomas Hope advocate, Sir James Carmichael treasurer-depute, and Sir John Hamilton of Orbistoun justice-clerk. They turned Sir Robert Spotswood president, and the other friends of the king, out of the court of session, which they filled with their own creatures. Spotswood, and Sir John Hay, who had been clerk register, were sent prisoners to the castle ; and a sham-plot was discovered for the assassination of the marquis of Hamilton and the earls of Argyle and Lanerk,

nerk, which turned out, however, to the confusion of the inventors, and gave Charles, for the first time, a very indifferent opinion of the marquis and his brother, who seemed to believe it. The king was as liberal in bestowing his honours as his places upon the most eminent covenanters; while his most zealous friends had not a day's assurance of their lives. The earl of Argyle was made a marquis, general Lesley was created earl of Leven, and keeper of the castle of Edinburgh. He received his patent in parliament, where, upon his knees, he made solemn protestation of loyalty hereafter. How he observed that, will appear afterwards. The lord Lindsay was made earl of Lindsay; the lord Loudon earl of Loudon; the lord Almond earl of Callendar; the lairds of Duddop and Arbuthnot viscounts; Sir Andrew Murray of Ebdie viscount Stormont. The earl of Lauderdale got a grant of the lordship of Musselburgh, worth twenty thousand marks per annum; the earl of Dumfermling, the revenue of the lordship of Dumfermling, during life, worth about a thousand pounds sterling. Mr. Alexander Henderson got the revenue of the chapel royal; and Mr. Gillespie had a liberal pension settled upon him.

The Scotch army being now satisfied in all their demands, had returned to their own country. The faction at Westminster were uneasy, lest the king and his subjects in Scotland should

English
commis-
sioners sent
to Scotland.

A. D. 1641. come to a good understanding together; and both houses of parliament there named committees for attending the Scotch parliament, under pretence of executing the late treaties, and improving the friendship between the two nations. Those for the house of peers were the earl of Bedford, and the lord Howard of Effcrick; but the earl declined to go. Those for the commons were Mr. Hamden, Sir Philip Stapleton, Nathaniel Fiennes, esq, and Sir William Armine. It was owing to their intrigues that Charles had received so many mortifications in his native country, and was hourly in danger of receiving more. Had the violent counsels of the enthusiasts among the clergy and the covenanters been listened to, Montrose, and the other prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh, must have immediately lost their heads; and that catastrophe was prevented only by the marquis of Hamilton and his brother prevailing with the marquis of Argyle to follow more moderate measures. In fact, the distresses of Charles had touched so many with a sense of his condition, that he had the courage to express his disapprobation of the persecution of his friends; and Montrose, with his fellow-prisoners, among whom was the bishop of Murray, I have already mentioned, upon the rising of the parliament were admitted to give bail that they would take their trials, when called upon.

While

A. D. 1643.
The Irish
rebellion
breaks out.

While Charles remained in Scotland, the horrible Irish rebellion broke out, the progress of which is foreign to this history. It hastened the departure of Charles for England; and there is no room to doubt, that the success of the Scotch covenanters had encouraged the Irish rebels. The latter copied from the former a bond for maintaining the popish religion; but with the strongest professions of duty and affection to the king. The Scotch parliament was sitting when the news came, and immediately offered to raise an army for quelling the rebellion, but to be paid by the English. This offer, which originally came from Charles himself, was readily accepted of by the English commissioners; and a committee of violent covenanters, at the head of which were the earls of Lothian and Lindsay, were named to treat with the English parliament. The proposal at first was gladly embraced; but after Charles had declared that he would leave the management of the Irish war to his English parliament, the commons insisted upon the Scots, who should be sent to Ireland, being commanded by English generals; and that, in the mean time, they would employ no more than a regiment of one thousand Scots, well-armed and well-provided, for the service. This backwardness in employing the Scots arose from a suspicion, that Charles would insist upon the command of them himself, as appears by the votes of the English house of commons;

for

A. D. 1641. for when they found the house of lords to be strongly of opinion that ten thousand Scots should be employed, the commons agreed to it; but upon such terms, and in such manner, as the parliament should think fit. This was defeating the whole proposition; and the two houses, after a conference, agreed, that no more than one thousand Scots should be accepted of.

Charles impeaches six members of parliament in England.

During those debates in England, Charles sent over some Scotch officers and arms to Ireland upon his own expence. The Scotch commissioners for the affairs of Ireland continued still in London; but finding themselves to be egregiously trifled with by the commons, they insisted upon an immediate and peremptory answer, and for the payment of two thousand five hundred men, which they had kept up for the service of Ireland. The conferences upon this were renewed; but after great treating, and many debates, nothing was concluded on. This disobliged many who had been in the opposition in both kingdoms; and Charles now received ample information as to all the practices of his English subjects with the Scotch covenanters. The leading men in the house of commons were, in fact, afraid of raising an army even for Ireland, unless the king was deprived of all power either to model or command it. Charles, exasperated by their conduct, ordered his attorney-general to present to the house of peers articles of high treason against

against the lord Kimbolton, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode. One of those articles was, for having traitorously invited and encouraged a foreign power (meaning the Scots) to invade England. The measures that Charles took to support this charge, as may be seen in the Histories of England, were so arbitrary and illegal, that he may be said to his last hour to have lived in a declared war with his parliament. His going to the house of commons in person to demand the five members (the lord Kimbolton being a peer) was not only an unconstitutional, but a frantic step, though it certainly was highly exaggerated by his enemies; among the most forward of whom were now the citizens of London. He was, in a manner, besieged in his own palace by their mobs; and at last he left it, and retired to Hampton Court. This step has been differently construed. Charles certainly was too much under the influence of his queen; and had he shewed some more firmness, the Londoners would have offered no violence to his person; but he thought that his distresses would animate his friends to join and deliver him. In this opinion, perhaps, he was not mistaken; but by pursuing it he rendered the breach between him and the commons irreconcilable, and therefore it may be termed fatal.

The

A. D. 1642.
Disaffection
of the Eng-
lish par-
liament.

The parliament of England now assumed the most important exercises of royal authority; and both houses joined in demanding that the forts and militia of the kingdom should be put into their hands. Charles treated this declaration, or rather demand, with a mixture of haughtiness and bitterness; and ridiculously demanded of the earls of Holland and Pembroke, who brought it, whether he had violated their laws? This is a mark of incredible insensibility in a prince, the whole tenour of whose reign had been to substitute law to prerogative. As Charles had foreseen, the behaviour of the commons rendered him more popular than ever he had been before in England, especially after the queen and his daughter, the princess of Orange, had fled to Holland. He went to York on the nineteenth of March, while the small gleam of hope he had from the affections of his people, made him renew his high claims of tonnage, poundage, and other illegal imposts. He offered to go at the head of an army to reduce the Irish rebels, and even to agree to a bill concerning the militia. The commons gave some frivolous reasons to dissuade him from the Irish expedition, but returned no answer to the militia. He then attempted to make himself master of Hull, in which he was disappointed by Sir John Hotham and his son, who had been sent by the parliament to preserve it for the use of the public.

public. The appearance of English nobility and gentry who joined Charles in the war, was numerous and powerful beyond belief, when we consider how very few friends to his unconstitutional prerogative he had in the beginning of his differences with his parliament.

The commons of England, as soon as the breach between them and the king appeared irreparable, resumed the treaty with the Scotch parliament concerning Ireland; and some of its commissioners entered into the most dangerous designs of the king's enemies. This coming to Charles's knowledge, he complained of it to the earls of Argyle and Lanerk; and the treaty for sending the Scotch army into Ireland being ended, Charles agreed to the nomination of the officers who were to command it, out of the most eminent covenanters. It being found dangerous to send any considerable number of men out of England, the Scotch army was to consist of ten thousand men. The covenanters thought that Charles had some secret view in sending so many of their chiefs to Ireland; and Argyle and others, who had been named to regiments, refused to go, their presence being then necessary in Scotland. Lesley was named general. Carrickfergus was appointed for their head-quarters; and the whole army arrived in Ireland the beginning of April. The marquis

which
treats for a
Scotch

army
to be sent to
Ireland,

A. D. 1642.

of Hamilton remained still at London, and was accused by Montrose and his friends of secretly favouring the king's enemies; but it was the misfortune of the times that moderate measures were disliked by both parties. The council in Scotland offered to send up the marquis of Argyle and Loudon to mediate between the king and the parliament; but the house of commons objected to Argyle, because they thought his presence necessary in Scotland; so that the lord-chancellor Loudon went alone. Bishop Burnet is of opinion, that one of the reasons why the commons objected to Argyle, was, because he might have been influenced to favour the king by the marquis of Hamilton; but it is more natural to suppose, that he thought his presence would be more serviceable to them in Scotland.

Memoirs,
p. 192.

Charles re-
jects the
mediation
of the
Scots.

Charles, after his repulse before Hull, rejected the mediation of the Scotch chancellor, who demanded a uniformity of religion between the two kingdoms; or, in other words, that the people of England should embrace the religion of the Scots. Upon his return to Scotland, he was followed by the marquis of Hamilton, at the request of Charles, who thought him capable of doing him service in that country. He could do him little or none. Agents from England had impressed the violent covenanters with a notion, that Charles having subdued his two houses of parliament, would

would invade Scotland, and abolish religion there. Hamilton, however, proposed sending for the queen, that she might, under the protection of the Scots, mediate between Charles and his English parliament. The Scotch general assembly, which was then sitting, pressed furiously for an address to the king, for an uniformity in church government throughout all his dominions. By the late parliament, conservators for the articles of the last treaty with England, and of the peace between the two nations, had been appointed, and the council addressed the king for a warrant to assemble them. This was a difficult point for the king, as they could be called to no good purpose for his interest. Without his orders, the chancellor convened them, upon the warrant of the council, which was afterwards confirmed by Charles himself. Upon their meeting, they received a letter from Charles, in a much more respectful strain than was expected. The marquis of Hamilton's proposal of sending for the queen was agreed to, and signed by the chancellor Loudon, the marquis of Argyll, Wariston, Henderson, and the other leaders of that, as well as the moderate, party. She was to have "assurance of security for her person, and the free exercise of her religion for herself and family; (so that no others were admitted to share in it) and that they should concur with her majesty in mediating a

A. D. 1642.
Burnet's
Memoirs,
p. 201.

peace betwixt the king and the two houses; which if it were rejected by the two houses, they obliged themselves to engage for the king against them.

Loyal conduct of the
marquis of
Hamilton.

The marquis of Hamilton was to carry this invitation to her majesty, in the name of the whole kingdom of Scotland. Charles at first joyfully embraced the proposal, but afterwards he refused to trust his queen in the hands of the Scots; though I am of opinion, that had he accepted of the proposal, her mediation would have been rejected by the English parliament. His distrust was construed into an affront offered to all the kingdom of Scotland, and as an indication of his insincerity in all his concessions. Great preparations for war were still going on in England. Charles had named the English earl of Lindsey to be the general of his army; and prince Rupert, with the earl of Brentford (late lord Esrick) and Sir Jacob Ashley, to command under him. The earl of Essex was general for the parliament, and the earl of Bedford was second in command; but they were at a great loss for other general officers, and therefore sent down their agents to Scotland, where they engaged in their service, Ramsay, Middleton, Hepburn, Balfour, and Meldrum, who had all of them served abroad, and afterwards distinguished themselves as major-generals in the parliament's service.

The

The idea of the conformity of religion between the two nations continued still to be pressed by Pym, and the disaffected faction in England, because they were in hopes that its impracticability would widen the breach with Charles. As the moderate party in Scotland had of late brought their countrymen into some favourable measures for the royal authority, one Pickering, an active, sly agent, was sent from London to Scotland, to intimate to the covenanters, that if they did not push the religious uniformity, they were not to expect the remainder of their arrears, or the performance of the new contract that had been made for supplying them with money. It was now seen that the Scots, by becoming the creditors, became the slaves, of their allies. Many of them had expended vast sums in the service, and depended upon the remittances they expected from England. The most violent among them flattered themselves with the thought of prescribing a religion to England. The assembly of the church sent up lord Maitland as their commissioner, to second the pressing instances that had been made by the laity for the proposed uniformity. His encouragement was so great, that upon his return he satisfied his constituents, that the English parliament had resolved to root episcopacy out of their constitution; and he produced an invitation for their brethren in Scotland to send commissioners to the

A. D. 1642.

The uniformity of religion pressed.

A. D. 1642. the assembly of divines which was to be held at Westminster for new modelling religion.

Charles vic.
torious
Oct. 23.

The battle of Edge-hill was by this time fought between Charles and his parliament; and though both sides claimed the victory, the advantage undoubtedly remained with the king. Though the parliament behaved upon the occasion with great spirit, and returned thanks to their general, the earl of Essex, as if he had been victorious, yet the event was attended with very serious consequences to the heads of the party. The earl of Essex had done all that a brave and gallant general could do; but it was owing to the courage and conduct of the two Scotch officers, Ramsay and Balfour, that his artillery was not taken, and his army entirely routed. In this battle, the king lost his general, the earl of Lindsey; but his place was supplied by the earl of Brentford. Charles now talked, in his letter to Hamilton, “of either being a glorious king or a patient martyr; and that not being as yet the first, he had no reason to apprehend the other.” Pickering remained still at Edinburgh, and had secured the marquis of Argyle, who had never ventured thoroughly to trust the royalists; and he received the following instructions, dated November the eighteenth, upon the resolution which the commons at Westminster had come to for inviting the Scots to their assistance. “First, That Mr. Pickering be authorized and

over the
English par-
liament.

re-

required to deliver the declaration concerning the Scots coming in to the assistance of this state, to the council of state there, and otherwise to publish it, as he shall see occasion; and that some instructions be sent unto him to solicit the effecting of it. Secondly, That the delivery of the same declaration to the Scots commissioners residing here, be recommended unto Sir William Armysn."

I am obliged, at this period, to keep by the great lines of history. It contains such a multiplication of proposals, meetings, messages, and other verbal transactions, most of which were abortive, that to recite them particularly, could give no information to the reader, and would turn the narrative into confusion. The enemies of Charles were undoubtedly stunned with the stand he had made; and though nothing of that kind transpired in the English parliament, yet it had great effects in Scotland. It inclined those who affected to be neutral to a very cautious conduct; but it made very different impressions upon the boisterous clergy and covenanters, especially when it was known that the king had marched to Oxford with his army without opposition. To counterbalance the invitation from England, Charles sent a declaration by Lanerk, both which were read in council the same day. The marquis of Hamilton and his brother had now broken with Argyle, whom they saw entirely connected with

Conduct of
the Hamil-
ton party.

A. D. 1642. with the ill-intentioned of both nations. When the declaration from the parliament and that from the king were read in a council consisting of twenty-one members, the royal, and not the parliamentary, declaration was voted to be printed; but by a majority not more than two voices. This was considered as a great point gained by Charles, and the honour of it was given to the two brothers.

A tumultuous meeting at Edinburgh.

Their loyalty, however, was of a very different complexion from that of the royalists; for they dreaded seeing the prerogative restored in its full extent, though from that day a perpetual variance commenced between them and Argyle. Those who had voted on Hamilton's side were stigmatized as traitors; and Argyle's clergy summoned a meeting of their party from Fife, and the western shires, at Edinburgh.

1643. This meeting, though tumultuous, was very numerous; and being joined by the commissioners of the general assembly, a petition was presented on the sixth day of January to the conservators of the peace, a tribunal till then unknown in Scotland, "craving that they would interpose with the council to explain themselves in what they meant by publishing the king's message, or declaration, which put the hard name of rebellion on their brethren of the parliament of England, and in not publishing their declaration." The answer made by the council was, that a publication was no approbation,

bation, and that they appointed the parliament's declaration to be printed likewise; from which it appears, that the covenanters had again got a majority at that board. A counter-petition, which is extremely well drawn, was signed and presented at the same time to the council. It was designed to shew, that the late treaty of peace did not affect the allegiance which the subjects of Scotland owed to their king: "Or that (continue the petitioners) thereby we are in any other condition in those necessary duties to our sovereign, than we and our ancestors were, and have been, these many ages and descents, before the making of the said act, or before the swearing and subscribing of our late covenant; by which we have solemnly sworn, and do swear, not only our mutual concurrence and assistance for the cause of religion, and to the utmost of our power, with our means and lives, to stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, his person and authority, in the preservation of religion, liberty, and laws of this church and kingdom; but also in every cause, which may concern his majesty's honour, we shall according to the laws of this kingdom, and duty of subjects, concur with our friends and followers in quiet manner, or in arms, as we shall be required of his majesty, or his council, or any having his authority."

This petition was subscribed and presented by the earls of Airly, Hume, and Dumfries;

A loyal petition presented, but over-ruled.

A. D. 1643. the lords Erskine, Montgomery, Ker, Fleming, Livingston, Drummond, Linton, Salton, Napier, Kirkudbright, and Balgany, and many gentlemen of eminence, but by none of the clergy. It received a cold and disrespectful answer from the council; but the clergy was more explicit in condemning it. They printed and published a paper against it, through all their churches, and preached damnation from the pulpit to all who had subscribed it. Neither Burnet nor bishop Guthrie, who are the only Scotch historians of this period, precisely distinguish between the council and the conservators of the state, and often confound them together. I am apt to think, that the conservators took the lead in all those transactions; for having rejected the petition of the royalists, they erected themselves into an independent board for treating with the English. They voted the earls of Loudon and Lindfay, Sir Archibald Johnston and Mr. Robert Barclay, to be their commissioners at London, to mediate between the king and the two houses, and to endeavour to effect a uniformity of church government. They were to be seconded by commissioners from the church; and all the opposition made by Hamilton and his party to their other violent resolutions, was in vain. Their commissioners arrived at Oxford, where the king was; but they received no countenance from him, though the chancellor, Loudon,

Burnet's
Memoirs,
p. 209.

A. D. 1643

don, protested to Charles that they had no intention to raise an army. They pressed him upon the subject of uniformity, and to call a parliament, which was part of their instructions; but he gave evasive, though plausible, answers to both. The papers which passed on this occasion are heavy, numerous, and unimportant.

Interview
between the
queen and
Montrose,

During those transactions, in February, this year, the queen, who had been very active in providing supplies both of men and money, landed at Burlington. The war in England had been all this time carried on with various success; but generally to the advantage of the king, who discovered that the Scotch commissioners at Oxford held a close correspondence with the worst of his enemies at London and Westminster. Her arrival flattered Charles with the hopes of being decisively victorious; and upon her coming to York, she was attended by the earl of Montrose, who had rejected all the offers the covenanters had made to draw him to their side. He had left Scotland with an intention to wait upon the king; but he took the opportunity of meeting with the queen, to fix her in his sentiments. He represented to her the state of affairs in Scotland, as being highly dangerous to the king; and that the well affected Scots, who were numerous and powerful, waited only for a general, under his majesty's commission, to rise in arms,

Z z z

and

4, D. 1643. and crush the covenanters, before they were firmly united among themselves. The queen received his representation but coldly, and dismissed him with a civil answer. Bishop Guthrie says, (but I think without any good authority) that the marquis of Hamilton was prompted by Argyle to counteract Montrose with her majesty. He certainly waited upon her at York; and his counsels were as pacific as those of Montrose had been violent. He represented the stain that must attend the king's honour, if he should break the treaty he had concluded with the Scots, and that all the strong places in that country were in the hands of the covenanters, who, in case of need, could recall their numerous well-disciplined army from Ireland. He intimated, at the same time, that means might be found to prevent the covenanters from assembling any army that year. The queen inclined to Hamilton's advice, and promised him a ducal patent in her husband's name.

A convention of the states called without the king's licence.

On the nineteenth day of April, the Scotch commissioners at Oxford received a negative answer from Charles to all their instructions, in a pretty high strain; and were suffered to return to Scotland, though they had insisted strongly on paying a visit to their friends at London. They were followed, at Charles's request, by the earls of Morton, Roxburgh, Mar, Annandale, Lanerk and Carnwath, who

A. D. 1643.

who promised to do him service in Scotland. Upon the chancellor's arrival at Edinburgh, it was agreed, that a convention of the states should be called without the royal authority. An apology was sent for this undutiful measure to the king; and the lord chancellor summoned the convention to meet on the second day of June. Papers, as usual, were published by both parties on the occasion; and the king was so well satisfied with the marquis of Hamilton's conduct, that he fulfilled his queen's engagement, by sending him his patent to be a duke. The king repented the calling this convention, and endeavoured to prevent its meeting; but he was obliged, at last, to permit it, it being agreeable to the sentiments of Hamilton and his brother. The difference between a convention and a parliament, at this time, was, that the former could levy troops and money, but they neither could repeal nor make laws. Charles endeavoured to limit their proceedings, by a letter he wrote for that purpose; but they voted themselves to be a free convention; upon which the Hamilton party left it; but this did not prevent their being suspected of collusion. It was easy to foresee, that the remaining members would close with the English parliament, who sent the earl of Rutland, the lord Gray of Wark, Sir William Armine, Sir Henry Vane, jun. Mr. Hatcher and Mr. Darley, to Edinburgh, as their commissioners. They brought

English
commis-
sioners sent
to Scotland.

Aug. 9:

with

A. D. 1643.

Rushworth.

A new solemn league and covenant is agreed to by the assembly.

with them a large declaration from their principals, justifying all their past proceedings, which were received and treated with the greatest respect. A like paper was laid before the members of the general assembly, who, without any hesitation, published their reasons for assisting the parliament of England. In their debates on this head, the covenanters went so far back for precedents, that they justified themselves from the assistance which queen Elizabeth gave to the lords of the congregation for establishing the Reformation, and which they said required a like grateful return.

The proceedings of this convention, which assembled and voted directly contrary to the royal mandate, have been condemned and exclaimed against by the friends of the Stuartine race; nor is it to be justified upon the received principles of law and the constitution. But whoever considers the state of Scotland at this time, will find that it was of that extraordinary kind, when necessity supersedes all human institutions, and self-preservation is the only principle that takes place *. The covenanters foresaw, that if either party became masters of Berwick or Carlisle, they would undoubtedly

* Though bishop Burnet is a profest advocate for the duke of Hamilton and his brother, who seemed to differ from the covenanters, on this occasion; yet he has, in his *Memoirs of the Hamilton Family*, given so many excellent reasons for the conduct of the covenanters, (which he affects to condemn) that there is no doubt but he approved of it in his own mind.

put the south of Scotland under contribution, A. D. 1643. if it was not covered with an army. The stiffness of the king in not agreeing to the abolition of episcopacy in England, while he agreed to it in Scotland, was equally alarming, whether his conduct resulted from conscience, or from temporizing; and he was every day giving fresh cause of suspicion, by employing in his counsels, and about his person at Oxford, papists, and men of arbitrary principles. There was, in short, a total suspension of all confidence between Charles and the real friends of liberty, many of whom were obliged to associate themselves with the most violent covenanters, though they detested their principles.

Charles, though he had ratified the legality of the convention, very preposterously endeavoured to deprive it of all authority. He ordered them, by a letter to the chancellor, not to treat with the English commissioners; but his commands were disregarded, and a committee of nine were appointed to treat with the latter. The views of the two parties were very different. The great ambition of the Scots was to establish presbyterianism in England; that of the English commissioners was to procure a civil league, and to leave a door open for independency, or, in other words, to extirpate all established modes of religion. The Scots had drawn up a new solemn league and covenant of
a more

A. D. 1643. a more dangerous tendency to the crown than the former. They declared in it, indeed, that they had no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness; but they reserved to themselves the power of defining its boundaries, or rather of making the king a mere phantom of state. In short, had it not been necessary for the friends of liberty to have some common bond of union, nothing could be more ridiculous, or more repugnant to all the known principles of civil society, than this new solemn league and covenant. It was received, however, with prodigious applause by the assembly, who unanimously voted to approve of it, even without laying it before the king. It was that very day carried to the convention of the states, where it received the like sanction. The lord Maitland, afterwards duke of Lauderdale, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Gillespie, two preachers, the former being moderator, were appointed to carry it up to England, where it was approved of by both houses of parliament. Upon the return of the commissioners, the committee of the states (by a self-created power, as I apprehend) ordained it, by their printed act of the twenty-second of October, to be sworn to and subscribed by all the subjects, under the pain of being punished as enemies to religion, his majesty's honour, and the peace of these kingdoms: and to have their goods and rents confiscated,

effected, and they not to enjoy any benefit or office within the kingdom, and to be cited to the next parliament as enemies to religion, king and kingdoms, and to receive what further punishment his majesty and the parliament should inflict on them.” A.D. 1641

Romantic and impracticable as Montrose's proposal appeared to Charles and his queen, yet they found it now far preferable to the moderate counsels of Hamilton, which they had followed. Montrose thought himself ill-treated by Charles; but he knew the covenanters too well to trust them, after the discoveries they had made. They offered to make him second in command to Lesley in Ireland; but he rejected the proposal, as being no better than an honourable exile. He was pressed to assist at the convention by the duke of Hamilton, who assured him, that if any thing derogatory to Charles passed in that assembly, he would enter a protest and leave it. “ But (replied Montrose) will you take arms in consequence of your protest?” “ I will not fight,” (answered Hamilton) which determined Montrose not to go near the assembly, but to prepare his friends for taking the field. The proceedings of the convention, which I have already related, drove the royalists, who had assisted in it by the king's orders, to great difficulties, especially after the marquis of Newcastle, who was the king's general in the north of Eng-
Vol. IX.
A a a
land,

Montrose
declares for
the king.

A.D. 1643. land, refused to throw garrisons into Berwick and Carlisle, and declared that he could furnish them with no arms, money, nor ammunition. Burnet is at great pains to apologize for the same conduct of the Hamilton party on this occasion; but it is plain that they were secretly averse to all hostilities, and that they were jealous of Montrose.

Memoirs of Hamilton,
p. 342.

The treaty
between
Scotland
and Eng-
land fi-
nished.

The treaty between the two houses of parliament in England and the convention of Scotland was now finished; and it was agreed, that the Scots should raise an army of eighteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, to be paid by England; and that it should be attended by a train of artillery suitable to such an army *. The Scots were to pay the expence of raising the army; but were to be reimbursed by the English, who were to furnish it with thirty thousand pounds a month, to be levied on the estates of papists, prelates, and their adherents; and in case of deficiency, the public faith was to be engaged for making it good, with interest at twelve per cent. The parliament of England was, in the mean while, to advance a hundred thousand pounds in part of payment. Even a cessation of arms was not to be concluded, but by the common advice of both kingdoms; and eight English ships of war were to guard the Scotch coasts during

* This clause gives fresh matter of discredit to Burnet's account made use of by the Scots.

the

the continuance of the army in England; but a Scotch garrison of six hundred foot and two hundred horse were immediately to take possession of Berwick. A. D. 1643.

When party prepossessions are laid aside, this must appear to be a treaty highly to the glory of the Scots; and indeed nothing but the apprehensions of the English parliament, from some late events in favour of the king, could have induced the party to conclude it. It undoubtedly made the Scots arbiters of the fate of England. As their army was to lie in that country, they were in a condition to command the performance of the terms; and it was always in their power to have hindered the civil war of England from affecting Scotland. In short, had the Scotch nation at this time been actuated by any principle but that of religious zeal for their covenant, they might have commanded many great and important advantages to the commerce and improvement of their country, which must have been made good, on whatever side the scale of the war inclined. Argyle, Loudon, and other heads of the covenanters, knew this; but they had raised a spirit which they could not subdue, and found no safety but by adhering to their party. The general of this new army was to be chosen by the Scots; and he was to receive his orders from a committee of both kingdoms. All that Charles could do, was to re-

It is advantageous to the Scots.

A. D. 1643. monstrate against the late treaty by his letters to the council and the conservators, and to give idle orders to his secretaries of state to disregard all that had been done by the late convention. Burnet mentions some barbarous propositions of assassination, which were made by the royalists, and were prevented by the duke of Hamilton from being carried into execution; but I doubt the fact, and it seems to be thrown out to stigmatize those who were willing to go greater lengths in the king's service than the Hamiltons approved of; and by their own messages, which they sent to Charles, it appears very plainly, that they had no thoughts of declaring themselves against the covenanters, unless he supplied them with men, ammunition, and money, which they were sensible was not in his power. This disappointment served as a pretext for the Hamilton party to observe, at least, a neutrality. This did not satisfy the clergy. They then governed the kingdom by the lords of the council, and the committees of estates, who demanded that they should take the solemn league and covenant, which they refused, or evaded, doing. The people were now worked up to the highest pitch of phrenzy, by a publication entitled, "The Mystery of Iniquity," which not only loaded the king with an intention, ever since he left Spain, to re-establish popery in his dominions, but for having given
a com-

a commission under the great seal for the perpetration of the Irish massacre. Though this commission was found afterwards to be a forgery, yet the belief of it produced the most woful effects against the king. A. D. 1643.

Burnet, in his Memoirs, mentions an attempt made by the duke of Hamilton and his brother, of drawing together a body of men, on pretence of attending the countess of Roxburgh's funeral, for the king's service; but by his own account, the design went no farther than talk. The covenanters, however, made it a handle for confiscating all the estates, and seizing the persons of those who did not take the covenant by a certain day; upon which the marquis of Hamilton and his brother retired to court, where they were but coldly looked upon. The earl of Montrose, by some seeming compliances, had come to the knowledge of the designs of the covenanters; and repairing to England, produced such evidences of his affection for the king's service, as brought Charles to repent his not having more early followed his advice, and at the same time to have a very bad opinion of the Hamiltons. The editor of Montrose's Memoirs * has published

The earl of
Montrose
repairs to
Charles.

* The author was Dr. George Withart, afterwards bishop of Edinburgh, who composed them in a very chaste classical latin stile; but without much regard to authorities. Many reasons, however, incline me to give them great credit. In the first place, several editions of them were printed in the author's lifetime, before the Restoration; nor do I find the facts they contained

A. D. 1643. some letters from Charles to Montrose so far back as last year; but it is certain that Hamilton continued in high reputation with his master, and the queen likewise, till the march of the Scotch army towards England, which Hamilton had always discredited, was put beyond all contradiction by Montrose and his friends. Charles was then at the siege of Gloucester, one of the most unfortunate undertakings of his life; for he was obliged to raise it with disgrace, just as fortune was beginning to smile on his other undertakings. The battle of Newbury, which cost Charles so dear, soon followed. The solemn league and covenant having been sent from Scotland to England, was taken by all the parliament's party; and it was dangerous for any man, who was not under the protection of the royal army, to refuse it. Sixty thousand pounds were voted to be paid to the Scots; and the City engaged to advance a hundred thousand more to put their army in motion. No fact can be more certain, than that the confidence which the English at that time had in the Scotch

ained were ever disputed by either party. Secondly, They correspond in the main with bishop Guthrie's Memoirs. Thirdly, Their veracity is not attacked by bishop Burnet, though the author is far from being a friend to the Hamiltons. Fourthly, Though a late historian of the Gordon family has done all he could to shake their credit, yet he has had but very little success, except in a few instances of small or no importance. Lastly, He was chaplain to Montrose, greatly trusted by him, and attended him in his expeditions, till he was taken by the covenanters.

army,

A. D. 1643.

army, saved their cause from ruin. Charles had then five armies in the field; and though Essex, Mandeville, Fairfax, and Cromwell, who began now to make a great figure, had acted with great conduct and courage, and generally with success, yet they could not prevent Bristol falling into the hands of prince Rupert, and Exeter into those of his brother prince Maurice, and the king's troops making a great progress in the west, and in Wales. The parliament's party seemed to revive, when they were assured of the assistance of their northern brethren, as they were called, and acquired a consistency which, in the end, rendered them victorious.

Charles, after his miscarriage before Gloucester, retired to Oxford, where his court was most miserably split into parties, without any common principle of union, but that of a vague loyalty. Every thing appearing more gloomy on the part of Scotland, Charles could no longer resist the importunities of Hamilton's enemies; and he ordered both him and his brother to be put under arrest on the sixteenth of December. The accusation against them was long and plausible; but would have obtained more credit, had not his enemies, with equal folly and malice, revived the absurd imputation of his having a view to the crown of Scotland. When the articles of their charge, and their answer, are candidly considered, the ut-

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who puts
the marquis
of Hamilton
and his brother
under
arrest.

A. D. 1643.

most guilt of the two brothers amounts to their having been more violent for the king than the covenanters approved of; and more cautious than was agreeable to the royalists. Their error, however, seems to have been on the side of patriotism; but I believe their principle was good. Charles himself seemed to be convinced of their honesty; but could not help sending the duke prisoner to Pendennis castle, and continuing the arrest of his brother Lanerk. Though the charge against the latter was not so violent as that against the former, yet he would have been sent prisoner to Ludlow-castle, had he not made his escape to London, where he associated himself with the Scotch commissioners. While they were undergoing this persecution from Charles, their estates and friends were suffering equally from his enemies in Scotland; a strong presumption of their innocence! All who refused to take the covenant, besides the penalties I have already mentioned, were put under military execution; and it was lawful for the covenanters to put them to death, if they made any resistance; a barbarity that was afterwards severely retaliated upon themselves.

The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

The implicit obedience which the covenanting nobility of Scotland paid through force, and their followers through inclination, to their clergy, is beyond belief. The expedition into England was really a crusade, and undertaken upon

upon similar motives. Guthrie (afterwards bishop) was the only man in the general assembly who had the courage to remonstrate against the prevailing madness, by asking, as they had agreed with the English commissioners to exterminate episcopacy in England, what religion they designed to substitute in its stead. This was a shrewd question, as it pointed at the independants, whose principles were diametrically opposite to those of the Scotch presbyterians. It startled the moderator, the chancellor, the marquis of Argyle, the earls of Cassils, Glencairn, Eglinton, Lindsay, and Loudon; the lords Balmerino, Burleigh, and Arbuthnot, and others, who were lay members of the assembly; but none of them, though in their conscience they approved of Guthrie's speech, and saw what he meant, had the courage to second him. A supply of fifty thousand pounds, which arrived in an English ship at Leith, with an assurance of being followed by a far larger sum, put a stop to all farther deliberations; and before the first of January this year, the army was in a condition to march. Old Lesley, the earl of Leven, was unanimously appointed general: the other general officers were David Lesley, who was afterwards nobilitated likewise, the lord Livingston, and the lord Montgomery. Such was the zeal of the clergy, that they raised upon their own expence a regiment of black coats, which was commanded by Ar-

A. D. 1644.

thir Erskine of Scots-craig. Their rendezvous was at Hairlaw near Berwick. I ought to acquaint my reader, that for twelve months before this, the covenanters, under pretext of keeping certain bodies of royalists, called Moss troopers, in awe, upon the borders and elsewhere, had raised detached companies, under the command of one Brown, and other active officers, who were of great service to their affairs.

A tumult
at Edin-
burgh.

I have some reason to believe, with bishop Guthrie, that the spirit of covenanting, even at this time, was more violent, than it was universal, in Scotland. But what could the royalists, or the moderate part of the nation do, when all the forts, arms, and money of the kingdom, were in the hands of their enemies; and general Lesley had taken possession of Berwick? The people of Edinburgh, however, were not so tame as those of London, who had submitted to an excise for the payment of their army; for they had almost torn Balmerino in pieces, when he first proposed it to take place in Scotland. But upon the meeting of the states, and the commission of the assembly, who were resolved to carry it through, the Edinburghers were obliged to submit.

Strength
and conduct
of the cove-
nanters.

As the Scots had now on foot two numerous well provided armies, one in England and another in Ireland, the English parliament grew more intractable with regard to Charles than
ever;

ever; and began to lose even the common forms of respect which, till then, they had preserved for his person and family. The only resource he had against the Scots was Montrose and his friends, who were still about his court. These were the lord Ogleby, the earls of Crawford and Nithsdale, and the lords Aboyne and Reay. The king, to shew his regard for Montrose, created him a marquis, and sent for him to take his advice. As that nobleman had foreseen all that had happened, he had his plan of operations ready, though he was destitute of every thing requisite to carry them into execution. He proposed that the earl of Antrim, who had always professed great things for the royal service, should throw over two thousand men from Ireland to the west of Scotland, by the first of April; that he should be furnished with arms and ammunition, and, if possible, with a few troops of German horse from Denmark; and that the marquis of Newcastle should lend him a party of horse to enable him to penetrate into Scotland. Charles approved of this plan. Antrim, who was then at Oxford, undertook to perform his part of it, and Sir John Cochran was sent by the king to Denmark. Charles intended the chief command for Montrose himself; but he gallantly declined it, because his accepting it might have given umbrage to other nobles. Charles desired him to name his general. He named prince Maurice, and accepted a commission of being the first in command un-

Withart

A.D. 1644. der him. Montrose took his leave, and charged himself with the king's commands to the marquis of Newcastle. They accordingly had an interview together; but Newcastle complained he was not only ill supplied with necessaries, but over-awed by the neighbourhood of the Scots; and that he could spare him no more than a hundred horse, and two small field-pieces. He gave him, however, orders to the king's officers of the Cumberland and Westmoreland militia, who joined him with eight hundred foot, and three troops of horse; and Wishart informs us, that Montrose was attended by three hundred horse, most of them noblemen and gentlemen, who had served as officers in Germany, France, or England. According to his account, when he entered Scotland, on the thirteenth day of April, he was at the head of about twelve hundred men; but he says, that his English auxiliaries left him before he took possession of Dumfries.

who invade
England.

It would be tiresome to the reader, should I repeat the many declarations and manifestos which were published by the Scots when they invaded England. They were attended by a committee of their own nation, at the head of which was the marquis of Argyle and a committee of the English parliament. Both nations were now considered as the same at London and Westminster, where the Scotch commissioners sat in all the city committees, who, in fact, excluded the parliament from the management

ment of the war. They sensibly felt the advantages they reaped from their Scotch auxiliaries, whose army amounted to twenty-two thousand men, all of them in excellent order. Lesley, who commanded them, summoned the royalists of Northumberland to join him, though without much effect; but he took the castles of Wark and Morpeth, and fortified a small fort called Blysnock, for the conveniency of receiving provisions. Being joined by a regiment of horse, under colonel Gray, brother to lord Gray, they passed the Tyne on a bridge of boats, and summoned Newcastle to surrender. Sir Thomas Glenham commanded the garrison of that town for the king; and the marquis of Newcastle, to the infinite prejudice of Charles's affairs, had been obliged to march north to cover the place. Lesley despairing to take it, directed his march to Sunderland; and Meldrum, one of the parliament generals, having invested Newark, the marquis of Newcastle was forced to return to York. Thus all the country of England by north that city, may be said to have been in the hands of the Scots and parliament's forces.

The king's army under lord Byron was, at this time, beaten before Namptwich; and the Scots being joined by lord Fairfax at Tadcaster, they formed the siege of York; but in the mean time, prince Rupert beat Meldrum's army, and relieved Newark. This exploit did
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A. D. 1644. so much honour to the prince, that many places of importance surrendered to him, when it was resolved by the Scots and English before York to raise the siege, and check his progress. The prince, who had carried all before him, and had put twelve hundred men to the sword at Belton, was at Liverpool, when he heard that the siege of York was raised. The parliament's army had suffered not only in their reputation, but in a sally made by the garrison, when they retreated from York; and the English, by this time, began to be out of humour with their Scotch auxiliaries.

Their ambitious views.

The truth is, the latter had given their brethren too much cause of complaint. They had left their own country full of high expectancies; and, by the artful conduct of the English commissioners in Scotland and at Westminster, they had been induced to believe, that they were to give the law in civil and military, as well as in religious affairs, to the English. Their avarice was insatiable; but their rage for plunder was now checked by the presence of the two Fairfaxes, the earl of Manchester, Cromwell, and other English officers, who had joined them. Finding that the supplies granted by the two houses were not so readily paid, as they had been cheerfully voted, their discontent arose next to a mutiny; and they certainly would have returned home, under the pretence of covering their

their country against Montrose, had they not been in hopes of defeating the army, which was advancing under prince Rupert, and sharing largely in the spoils of the royalists. A.D. 1644

The parliament's troops were at this time drawn out in battle array upon Marston-Moor, in full confidence of beating prince Rupert, who was far inferior to them in strength. They were disappointed; for the prince proceeded towards York, having left only a party of horse to observe the motions of his enemies. Could he have been persuaded not to hazard a battle but upon his own terms, he would have probably gained a bloodless victory; but his natural disposition for fighting was quickened by a letter he had received from Charles, and his own violent hatred of the Scots in general. The marquis of Newcastle endeavoured to persuade him to remain on the defensive, and to wait the result of the growing differences in the parliament's army. This was likewise the opinion of his lieutenant-general, (King) a Scotch gentleman of unquestionable courage and sound judgment: but the prince, who had taken the chief command in York, told the marquis in a cold, but peremptory, manner, that he was resolved to draw out the garrison, which consisted of seven thousand men, next day, to fight the enemy. The marquis submitted, and took no higher post under the prince than captain of his own troop of horse.

The king
loses the
battle of
Marston-
Moor.

The

A.D. 1644. The parliament-generals, who were preparing to march southwards, could scarce believe their good fortune, when they saw the dispositions the prince was making to fight them. The two armies were pretty equal in number, each consisting of about fourteen thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, attended by a train of twenty-five pieces of cannon. The affront put upon the marquis by the prince had exasperated the Yorkshire men, and was of the worst consequence to the king's affair. The chief officers under him were Goring, Potter, Tellier, and Sir Charles Lucas. The marquis of Newcastle again applied to him to forbear fighting, at least for that day, because they expected considerable reinforcements under Montrose, and other royalists. These remonstrances, instead of abating, heightened the prince's passion for fighting, though it was seven in the evening before the battle began.

The right wing of the parliament's army, in which the Scotch cavalry was posted, was commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, as the main body was by his father lord Fairfax, and the Scotch general. The earl of Manchester, and Cromwell under him, commanded the left wing. The accounts, even of those who were present, differ as to the action. It is agreed, however, that Rupert's charge was so furious, that he broke the Scots, and, as usual, pur-
sued

A. D. 1644.

forced the chase too far; so that before he could return, the Yorkshire forces were cut in pieces by Cromwell; and about ten at night, the parliament's army remained in possession of a complete victory, having killed four thousand of the royalists, and taken prisoners fifteen hundred, among whom were Sir Charles Lucas, and about a hundred officers. On the parliament's side, about three hundred common foldiers, and but a few officers, were killed. Among the latter was a Scotch nobleman, the viscount Duddop, who commanded a regiment of the covenanters. The behaviour of the Scots in this battle has been variously reported. By what I can understand, that of their infantry was but very indifferent; but their cavalry behaved well. All the prince's artillery fell into the hands of his enemies, as did ten thousand stand of arms, a hundred colours, and all the baggage of the royalists. Had there been a good understanding between the prince and the marquis of Newcastle, they might still have defended York; but Sir Thomas Glenham was obliged to surrender it, the prince having marched to join Charles, and the marquis gone abroad in disgust.

Bishop Guthrie says, that by the capitulation of York, no Scots were permitted to enter it; and that Lesley marched with his army towards Newcastle, where he was joined by the

The Scots
storm New-
castle.

A. D. 1644.

earl of Callendar, who had become a convert to the covenanters, and that those two generals formed the siege of Newcastle. This proved one of the most difficult undertakings during all the war; and the place, after standing a siege of two months, was taken by storm, though furnished with three good generals, who threw themselves into the castle, when they lost the town; but they were obliged to surrender at discretion on the twenty-seventh of October. As to the particulars of this siege, which must have redounded greatly to the honour of the Scots, they are not mentioned by English writers, for reasons readily guessed at; and we have few or no accounts of any military operations from the covenanters themselves, or their countrymen.

History of
the progress
and victories
of Montrose.

Montrose thought he could not do too much to wipe out the stain of his former disloyalty. He had with a small flying army been excessively active in the north of England. He took and plundered Morpeth, as he did a fort at the mouth of the Tyne, and threw a supply of corn into Newcastle. His intelligence was too late for him to be present at the battle of Marston Moor; but he joined prince Rupert next day. The prince at first received him with great civility, and offered him a thousand horse; but was persuaded by his officers to retract his word; and Montrose, vexed and disappointed, went to Carlisle. From thence he

A. D. 1644.

he sent the lord Oglevy and Sir William Rollock in disguise, to bring him some account, if possible, of his Irish auxiliaries, and the internal state of Scotland, where all appearances were against the king. The marquis of Huntley had beaten a party of the covenanters under colonel Bickerton at Bamf. Upon this, the committee of estates gave a commission to the marquis of Argyle to raise three regiments, one to be commanded by the lord Elcho, and another by the earl of Kinghorn. These were joined by the greatest part of the earl-marshal's regiment and a body of horse, with many volunteers. Huntley, who had been disappointed of the succours he expected from the king, unable to resist this force, dismissed his followers, and retired to the Highlands. One of his best and bravest friends, Sir John Gordon of Haddo, fortified his own house against Argyle; but being forced to surrender it, he was sent prisoner to Edinburgh, where, after a long and loathsome confinement in a prison, which still bears his name, he was beheaded, together with captain Logy, one of his friends. As to the marquis of Huntley, he and his friends were excommunicated at Edinburgh, as were the marquis of Montrose, the earls of Crawford and Nithsdale, the lords Aboyn, Oglevy, and others. Before they rose, the like sentence of excommunication was pronounced against the noblemen and gentlemen

A. D. 1644. of Scotland, who had signed the declaration at Oxford against the antimonarchical convention of estates, and the invasion of England.

Montrose's two friends returned with those discouraging news, and that there was no appearance of their Irish friends; adding, that matters were now come to such a pass, that it was dangerous to speak of the king in terms of common respect. Few besides Montrose would have borne up against so much calamity. He resigned the command of his few followers to his friend lord Ogilvy, that they might march to the king at Oxford; but they were intercepted by the covenanters, and most of them, among whom was Wilhart the historian, were sent prisoners to Scotland, and were afterwards delivered by Montrose himself. He returned to Carlisle, where he imparted to the earl of Aboyne, his design of going in disguise to Scotland; and leaving that nobleman, he set out with Sir William Rollock, and one Sibbald; and with incredible difficulties reached Perthshire, where he had a great family interest. While he was lurking there, he heard of a body of Irish, who were landed in the north, and were marching through the Highlands. He found means to acquaint them where he was; and he appointed their rendezvous to be in Athol; where they were joined by a body of Scotch Highlanders from Badenoch, who had taken arms, on hearing that Montrose had declared

clanged for the royal cause. His whole army A. D. 1644. did not amount to fifteen hundred men; his Irish auxiliaries being only eleven hundred, though ten thousand were promised; and these were either miserably armed, or without any arms at all. It happened unfortunately, that the Highlanders disdained to act with the Irish, who they said were foreigners, and commanded by one Alexander Macdonald, a man of no rank or family: but the authority and prudence of Montrose, at last, surmounted all difficulties; and he gave the command of the Highlanders to officers whom he knew they would obey. Among his first manœuvres was his putting the estates of some of the covenanters under contribution, and giving their houses up to plunder, for having insulted his little army.

The landing of the Highlanders, and the fame of Montrose, alarmed the covenanters; and Montrose found himself between two of their armies, one commanded by lord Elcho, and the other by Argyle himself. It happened, that lord Kilpont and Sir John Drummond had been obliged to raise their followers to join the covenanters; but being royalists in their hearts, they joined Montrose with five hundred men. He soon saw Elcho's army, consisting of six thousand foot and seven hundred horse, drawn up in order of battle upon Tipper-moor; but though the greatest part of Mon-

who gains
the battle
of Tipper-
moor,

A. D. 1644. Montrose's men were armed with nothing but stones, the covenanters were entirely routed, two thousand of them were killed upon the spot, the greatest part of the remainder were taken prisoners, their cavalry alone escaping; as Montrose and all his army had no more than out-lame and two serviceable horses. The town of Perth that very day surrendered to the conqueror, and he was joined by the earl of Kinross, and some of the neighbouring gentlemen. The news of Argyle's approach, with a very superior army, obliged Montrose in three days time to march towards Angus, where the royal interest was strong, and where he was joined by a considerable body of the Oglivies, under one of the earl of Airly's sons. Soon after, he got an addition of troops from Fife, and marched north to fight lord Burleigh, who commanded two thousand foot and five hundred horse, near Aberdeen. The greatest part of Montrose's Highlanders had, as usual, by this time returned home; so that he had with him not above fifteen hundred foot and forty-four horse; but he again obtained a complete victory, and almost the whole body of the covenanters were cut in pieces, after an obstinate dispute for four hours. This battle was fought on the twelfth of September, 1644.

Montrose's amazing success in those two battles was of greater service to his reputation than to his cause. The marquis of Argyle was

and of
Aberdeen.

was still advancing; and though all the country round was well disposed for the king, yet Montrose's former conduct had given the marquis of Huntley and his numerous followers such prepossessions, that few of them joined him; though I perceive, that several of them were active in other parts of the country against the covenanters. The historians of the Gordon family endeavour to account for this backwardness; but the best apology they can make is what I have already mentioned, the remembrance of Montrose's former conduct; nor can we imagine, that an army of unpaid Highlanders and Irish would be welcome guests in any country after a victory. Montrose hearing of Argyle's approach, left Aberdeen, and retired to the mountains, having first dispatched Sir William Rollock to inform the king of his victories and the state of his affairs; and that he must still be ruined, if supplies were not sent him. Argyle, upon his retreat, entered Aberdeen, where proclamation was made, declaring Montrose and his adherents traitors; and offering a reward of twenty thousand pounds Scots, to any one who would bring him in dead or alive.

Argyle, whose chief strength consisted in his horse, did not think proper to pursue Montrose; but ordered the inhabitants of Murray, Ross, and Sutherland, to take arms; and Montrose was for some time confined to his bed at Badenoch

A. D. 1644. nook through sickness, but soon recovered. He had previously buried his cannon; and Argyle's motions being very slow, his light infantry fatigued the cavalry so much, that they marched into Angus, and from thence back to Strathbogy, and the country of the Gordons, leaving his enemies far behind. The situation of that noble family was then particular. Lord Gordon, the eldest son, was in Argyle's hands; the earl of Aboyne was shut up in Carlisle, which was then besieged; and the third son, lord Lewis, was an officer in his uncle Argyle's army; while the father was still skulking in the Highlands. In those days, and in that country, even loyalty was but secondary to chieftainship; and though the Gordons were passionate royalists, yet Montrose could bring none of them to the field. Leaving Strathbogy, he had almost been ruined at Fyvie through false intelligence; for while he thought the enemy to be at a great distance, he found Argyle and Lothian encamped within two miles of his quarters, with two thousand five hundred foot, and twelve hundred horse. Montrose thought himself then in imminent danger. Macdonald was absent in the Highlands, with a detachment of his army; so that he had not with him above fifteen hundred foot and fifty horse. Not chusing to shut himself up in the castle of Fyvie, he intrenched himself in the best manner he could, and repelled two furious charges

He worships
the cove-
nanters at
Fyvie.

A. D. 1644.

charges made upon him by the covenanters, when his ball and ammunition failed. He supplied it by melting into balls all the pewter vessels he could find in the castle and the village; and made so good a defence, that Argyle was obliged to retreat, and left Montrose to pursue his march once more to the Highlands. The fatigues of his officers, who among his Low-Country forces were more numerous than his private men, together with the practices of Argyle, who still hung upon his rear, were such, that most of them left him at Badenoch. It is almost incredible, that David earl of Airly, though past sixty years of age, whose eldest son was a prisoner with the covenanters, still attended him through all his dangers and difficulties, with his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogleby.

The rest of Montrose's campaign gives almost a sanction to romance. In the midst of winter, he travelled through almost untrodden paths, filled with snow, twenty-four miles in one night, and drove Argyle from Dunkeld to Perth, which had again received a garrison of the covenanters. Macdonald returned from the Highlands, with the captain of Clanronald, and five hundred of his men, which determined Montrose to carry the war into the heart of Argyle's own country. This resolution, which was equally wise and spirited, was the more extraordinary, as Montrose, ever since

His incredible fatigues.

A. D. 1644. his arrival in Scotland, had neither arms, food, cloathing, nor ammunition, for his men, but what he took from his enemies. He was encouraged, however, by the unpopularity of Argyle, through his oppressive practices; and Montrose executed his resolution with such amazing quickness, that while Argyle thought he was at the distance of a hundred miles, the former was obliged to throw himself into a fishing-boat, to prevent his being seized at his house of Inverary. But to explain this event, I must attend the transactions at Edinburgh, where the committee of estates were still sitting.

New commissioners were appointed to reside at London to cultivate the good correspondence between the covenanters and the parliament there; and each, according to his rank, had a handsome daily allowance for his table. The scale of war being turned against the king by the battle of Marston-moor, the English independents, whose strength was every day growing, would gladly have been rid of their Scotch auxiliaries. The chancellor had it in commission, particularly to put the best face he could upon Montrose's late victories; but the committee of estates at Edinburgh every day receiving fresh mortifications from his successes, they filled their prisons with all the noblemen and gentlemen whom they suspected to be the king's friends, or knew to be Montrose's relations. Public fasts were proclaimed for the success of their armies;

armies; and the earl of Crawford, with other noblemen and gentlemen, who had been made prisoners in England, must have been immediately executed, had not the party been afraid of Montrose. Argyle and Lothian had persuaded the earl of Kinnoul, colonel Hay, and colonel Sibbald, to leave Montrose; and as soon as they heard of his being joined by the Highlanders, they resigned their commissions, and their services were approved of. It was upon this occasion, that Argyle had retired to Inverary, where he so narrowly escaped being surprized by Montrose.

A. D. 1644.

1645.

Major-general Bailie succeeded Argyle and Lothian in their commissions, and was declared commander in chief. He appointed the first rendezvous of his army to be at Perth. Montrose was all this while in Argyle's country, where there is too much reason to think, that his men indulged themselves in the greatest licentiousness and barbarity. He marched from thence to Lochness, where he heard that the earl of Seaforth, a very powerful nobleman in the north, was advancing against him with five thousand men; and that Argyle having resumed his arms, was near Inverlochy with three thousand more. Montrose resolved to fight the latter; and making a forced march of thirty miles over the mountains of Locharber, Argyle's army was completely defeated on the second of February, with the loss of fif-

He gains
the battle of
Inverlochy.

A. D. 1645. teen hundred men; that of Montrose being no more than three, besides a few wounded. The brave Sir Thomas Ogilby died of his wounds. He was esteemed one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his country. After this victory, Montrose, returning by painful marches over the mountains, took possession of Elgin; where the lord Gordon having escaped from the custody of his uncle Argyle, offered him his service as the king's lieutenant. He and the few followers he brought with him were gladly received by Montrose, whose army soon amounted to two thousand foot, and two hundred horse. With those he beat Sir John Urry, who was esteemed one of the best of the enemy's officers, near Brechin; and Urry joined Bailie with the remains of his army. The exploits of Montrose were now such, that some of their best regiments were recalled both from England and Ireland, with a resolution to put at once an end to the war. This rendered Montrose cautious, so that Bailie could not fight him but upon his own terms. While Montrose was at Dunkeld, lord Lewis Gordon, who, following the example of his brother, had joined him, pretending he had received letters from his father, left him, and if we are to believe Wishart, carried with him all the Gordons. The historians of that house deny the fact, and say, that Wishart, who was then a prisoner at Edinburgh, was mis-informed.

What-

Whatever may be in this, Montrose sent his baggage northwards, and stormed Dundee, one of the strongest and richest towns belonging to the covenanters; and had not his Highlanders and Irish been intent upon plunder, and strong liquors, it must have been reduced to ashes.

A. D. 1645.

While Montrose's men were busy in the pillage, an account came that Bailie and Urry were not a mile distant, with three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. Montrose saw it was in vain to fight, his army having that day undergone prodigious fatigues; but he made a most masterly retreat northwards, till he reached the skirts of the Highlands, where he knew he was safe. This retreat did great honour to Montrose as a soldier; and the greatest military men, both at home and abroad, preferred it to his most celebrated victories.

Montrose having reached Glencsk, sent northwards the lord Gordon, who undertook to bring back the gentlemen whom his brother had carried off. This weakened his army so much, that he was almost surprized by Bailie in Perthshire, Urry having marched northwards to oppose the lord Gordon. He was followed by Montrose, who was joined by lord Gordon with a thousand foot and two hundred horse. It may be proper here to observe, that those marches of Montrose would appear incredible at present, were it not for those which

Montrose gains the battle of Aulderne,

A. D. 1645. which their descendants performed in later times *. Montrose being thus reinforced, resolved to fight Urry, who was then lying at Elgin, and thought that Montrose was on the south side of the Grampians. Urry retreated in great haste towards Inverness; and being warmly pursued, reached it with great difficulty, while Montrose encamped at the village of Aulderne. The earl of Seaforth had now returned north, and was waiting with a body of men at Inverness, which joined Urry, and made his army three thousand five hundred strong in foot, and four hundred in horse, with whom he marched out to attack Montrose, who had with him no more than fifteen hundred foot, and about two hundred and fifty horse. The latter would have gladly retreated, as he understood that Bailie had passed the Grampians, and was advancing on his rear with an army still stronger than that of Urry. Finding it impracticable to retreat, or to maintain his ground till the rest of his army, whom he had left behind, could come up, he made an excellent disposition of his few troops; and though his right wing was in danger of being cut in pieces, he was again victorious. This victory was the more glorious for Montrose, as he gained it over an experienced general; and it was so complete, that not above five hundred of the enemy escaped, three thou-

* See the History of the Rebellion of 1745.

stand falling in the field. It was remarkable, A. D. 1645. that the greatest part of Urry's foot were killed in their ranks; and all Montrose's loss was one private man in the right, and fourteen in his left wing.

Montrose after this almost miraculous victory, marched to Elgin to refresh his army, while Urry, who had carried off his horse, joined Bailie. Montrose declined fighting them, as his men had of late suffered amazing fatigues, and retired to Balveny, while Bailie, desisting from the pursuit, as he found his men dispirited, went to Inverness. Montrose marched southwards to have fought the earl of Lindsay, who was the chief lord next to Argyll in credit and command among the covenanters; but found himself of a sudden deserted by all his north country forces, excepting his friend lord Gordon. This made him desist from his enterprize against Lindsay, in which he had promised himself undoubted success. Lord Gordon's credit with his father's followers soon after repaired that loss to Montrose; and Macdonald had considerable success in raising recruits of Highlanders. Bailie, in like manner, was joined by lord Lindsay, and was carrying fire and sword through the estates of the royalists. Montrose, after many marches and counter-marches, took up a convenient camp at Alford, near the Don, which river Bailie passed; so that a battle was now unavoidable.

and that of
Alford.

A. D. 1645. voidable. Both armies made the proper dispositions, the foot being pretty equal in numbers, though Bailie was strongest in horse. Victory again declared in favour of Montrose, tho' he bought it dearly by the loss of the brave lord Gordon, whose fall affected his friends and followers so much, that little execution was done in the pursuit. Two other gentlemen were killed on Montrose's side; but it is said he did not lose a single private man, though all the enemy's foot, a very few excepted, fought very bravely, and having refused quarter, were put to the sword.

Burnet's
charge a-
gainst him
examined.

Montrose, after solemnly performing the obsequies of lord Gordon, marched to Merns, and from thence into Angus, and was joined by different companies of the Highlanders; so that if he could have raised a body of cavalry, he would have marched to Stirling and to Perth, to both which towns the parliament, which was to have met at Edinburgh, was adjourned, on account of the plague. Montrose has been accused by bishop Burnet and Dr. Welwood of having been so puffed up by his victories, that he wrote to Charles in such vain-glorious terms, as induced that monarch to break off the negotiations at Uxbridge, when a peace was almost concluded. This charge is extremely improbable, because it appears from the state-papers that have been published by Rushworth and others, as well as by the

the Journals of the House of Commons, and lord Clarendon's history, that Charles was not sincere in that negotiation; that he never meant it should take effect; and that the independent interest was then so strong in the house, that had the commissioners concluded that treaty, the army would have broken it. That Montrose was a young sanguine nobleman, and not without a share of vanity, may be admitted; but I cannot think him to have been weak enough to have made use of the vain-glorious expressions ascribed to him by those two authors in the beginning of the year, while that treaty was going forward, when his affairs were but in a precarious situation, and all appearances against him, as the reader may easily perceive from the preceding narrative, the negotiations at Uxbridge being finished on the twenty-third of February. Tho' Montrose had not with him above a hundred horse, yet his foot was in excellent order; and expecting daily reinforcements under the earls of Aboyn and Airly, he marched towards Perth, where the parliament was sitting. This alarmed the covenanters; but they soon perceived, by his skirting along the high grounds, that he was deficient in cavalry; and receiving strong reinforcements from Fife, and other counties, they offered him battle; but he kept within his fastnesses till he was joined by a reinforcement of three hundred horse at Dun-

A. D. 1645. keld. The covenanters now took up a strong ground, where Montrose did not think proper to attack them; but turning short, he marched into Fife, where the strength of the covenanting interest lay. He did not, however, judge it safe to penetrate farther than Kilrofs, from whence he advanced towards Stirling, where he received an account that Bailie was upon his march to fight him; and that the earls of Lanerk, Eglinton, Cassils, and Glencairn, and other heads of the covenanters, were raising great levies in their respective counties, which the flames of war had not yet reached. Montrose was, at this time, at the head of a much better army than he had ever commanded, his numbers being about five thousand, of which five hundred were horse. The marquis of Argyll, and the earls of Lanerk and Lindsay, had been joined in command with Bailie, by their parliament at Stirling; and their army consisted of six thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Montrose having retreated to Kilfyth, that he might chuse a proper ground for fighting, the covenanters thought he was flying, and called upon their generals to pursue him, and, if possible, to cut off his retreat from the Highlands. Bailie, who knew Montrose to be as sagacious and cautious, as he was brave and enterprizing, did all he could to dissuade them from fighting, but all to no purpose; and Montrose's dispositions were so well-seconded by old

Montrose
gains the
almost de-
cisive battle
of Kilfyth.

A. D. 1645.

old Airly and the Oglevies, that he gained one of the most complete victories to be met with in history; for the enemy's six thousand foot were cut in pieces almost to a man, and the greatest part of their cavalry were either killed or taken, with all their baggage and arms; and according to the usual, and almost incredible, good fortune of Montrose, he lost in the action no more than three gentlemen, and three common soldiers.

Montrose has been accused of exercising his victories with cruelty; but I see no foundation for the charge, at least not personally against him. His men knew, that if they were taken prisoners, they must suffer as rebels; and very possibly, during the heat of the battle, they resolved neither to give nor take quarter, which partly accounts for the great number of covenanters killed in every battle, compared to the inconsiderable loss which Montrose suffered. In the late battle, however, many of the enemy's horse, some of them men of rank and quality, surrendered to Montrose or his officers; but they were immediately released upon their parole, not to take arms again in the same cause. The few who escaped saved themselves by the swiftness of their horses; and Argyle again threw himself into a boat, which carried him to a ship.

His lenity to prisoners.

The successes of Montrose seemed only to render the covenanters more furious, and bent

A. D. 1645.
The affairs
of Charles
ruined in
England by
the battle
of Naseby.

Guthrie's
Memoirs.

upon continuing the war. Mr. Samuel Rutherford, one of their most eminent preachers, had written a treatise called "Lex Rex," the most antimonarchical of any that had yet appeared in Scotland; and the general assembly approved of all that the commissioners had done in concert with the divines at Westminster, particularly of their directory for worship, which was ratified by parliament. Lord Balmerino and the marquis of Argyle had long endeavoured to palliate the successes of Montrose; and after it was known that the treaty at Uxbridge was broken up, the general assembly had sent a formal deputation to parliament to press the execution of the earl of Crawford, lord Oglevy, and the other royalists, who were prisoners at Edinburgh. When the successes of Montrose, and the loss of the covenanters, could be no longer dissembled, they resolved upon more vigorous measures than ever; all which were defeated by losing the battle of Kilsyth. A gentleman going with dispatches from Montrose to the king, being intercepted, he was hanged, without any form of trial, at Edinburgh. From those dispatches, the party learned that the king's affairs were desperate in England; and that he intended, if possible, to join Montrose in Scotland. The independent party in England, with Cromwell at its head, carried all before them in the field, and in the parliament likewise; but found the
Scots

Scots not very apt to join them, partly from A.D. 1645. the slowness of their payments, and partly on account of their apprehensions from Montrose's victories. Their backwardness was a great discouragement to the parliament's army; and the affairs of Charles were beginning to wear a prosperous aspect, when he unadvisedly fought and lost the battle of Naseby.

The Scotch army had no share in that victory. They had taken Carlisle, which had He intends to join Montrose. been bravely defended by Sir Thomas Glenham for eleven months, and the earls of Leven and Callendar were then besieging Hereford; but the siege went so heavily on, that Charles was in no great pain about the fate of the place. Prince Rupert and his best friends advised him to conclude a peace upon any terms; but they were amazed, when he declared that he would grant none, but what he had offered at the treaty of Uxbridge. He had marched through Shropshire and Denbighshire to Doncaster, where he was joined by three thousand men; and his numbers were joined by the garrisons of the places which surrendered upon honourable capitulations to the parliament's forces. He was then planning his march into Scotland, where the covenanters were amazed, confounded, and dispirited by Montrose's victories. An event which promised at first sight to re-establish his affairs, ruined them for ever.

The

A. D. 1645.

The Scots
raise the
siege of
Hereford.

The Scots before Hereford had almost mutinied against their pay-masters for want of provisions, artillery, and ammunition; and hearing of Montrose's successes, they naturally concluded that Charles would endeavour to join him in Scotland. They therefore, without any leave from their English brethren, broke up the siege of Hereford, when it was upon the point of surrendering, and drew up a manifesto complaining of their disappointments and difficulties, and shewing the necessity they were under to save their own country. Before this manifesto was published by the earls of Leven and Callendar, general Lesley had drawn off all the horse and dragoons in their army, and made forced marches towards the north, where he took post at Rotherham and Ferrybridge, and effectually cut off Charles's retreat to Scotland. The English not knowing how to interpret Lesley's march, some of their generals talked of stopping him in Gloucestershire; but he was suffered to proceed, and Charles went to Newark. He was still at the head of five thousand men, and directed his march towards Chester; but was defeated by the parliament's general, Poyntz, who had followed him from the north. We are now to attend the affairs of Scotland.

Montrose
reduces
Edinburgh
and all
Scotland to
the king's
obedience.

Montrose's victory at Kilfyth had the most interesting consequences. Few of the covenanting nobility thought themselves safe in their

A. D. 1645.

Dated June
25.

their own country. Some of them fled to England, and some to Ireland, and others pretended to be converts to the royal cause. Nothing was now to be heard of but professions of allegiance to the king, who had sent Montrose a commission to be lieutenant-governor and captain-general of all his forces in Scotland. Deputies from the most distant shires and cities made their submissions, and offered him their assistance; and the noble generous manner in which they were received and pardoned by Montrose, proved him to be equally endued with civil and military accomplishments; so that the heads of the covenanters seemed now to be the objects of popular detestation. The western counties, where Lanerk's great interest lay, appeared to be the most dissatisfied; and therefore Montrose marched to Glasgow, where he put some of the incendiaries to death, and received the penitential professions of future loyalty from the inhabitants. The example of Glasgow was followed by the other chief towns in the west, who laid all the blame of their past rebellions upon the clergy. All their deputies were treated with the greatest politeness by Montrose, and dismissed with assurances of forgiveness. He was now joined by the marquis of Douglas, the earls of Linlithgow, Annandale, and Hartfield; the lords Seton, Drummond, Fleming, Maderty, Carnegie, and Johnston,

A.D. 1645. ston, with many other gentlemen of distinction. He next dispatched his nephew, the master of Napier, and colonel Gordon, to receive the submissions of the city of Edinburgh, and to relieve his noble and other friends, who were there under sentence of death in prison. The dastardly inhabitants on hearing of the approach of the royalists, threw themselves at the feet of their prisoners, imploring them with tears to intercede for their pardon; an office which the earl of Crawford and lord Oglevy generously undertook; and Montrose, at their request, received the city into his protection; but upon certain articles, none of which, excepting the release of the prisoners, were performed.

He intends
to penetrate
into Eng-
land;

Montrose next turned his views towards the south, where the king had many friends, and the country was full of flourishing inhabitants. His intention was to raise a fresh army there, not only to replace the Highlanders who had returned to their own country, but to penetrate into England, as he had now little or nothing to fear in Scotland. He seems to have been deficient in his intelligence from England, where the independants treated their Scotch auxiliaries rather as slaves than brethren. Their resentment of this usage encouraged Charles to employ Montreuil, a French agent, to feel the pulse of their chief officers towards a reconciliation; and Charles wrote to the
chan-

A. D. 1645.

chancellor, earl of Loudon, on the same subject. This might have been effected, had not the parliament published the king's cabinet of letters which fell into their hands after the battle of Naseby, by which it appeared that Charles, in his heart, hated the Scotch covenanters more than he did the English rebels. Notwithstanding the disgust which this discovery gave Balmerino, who was the king's capital enemy, he expressed some dispositions towards an accommodation; and after sounding his friends, it was agreed to give Charles a retreat in their army, provided he would engage that the French court would support him against the parliament, if necessary. But the negotiation at that time went no farther.

Montrose imagined, as appears by a letter from Sir Robert Spotswood, one of the wisest and worthiest of the Scotch royalists, that the king's generals would have found work in the north of England for Lesley, who commanded the Scotch cavalry. Montrose was flattered by warm addresses from the earls of Traquair, Roxburgh, and Hume, who invited him to enter England, while the earl of Lanerk more honestly set him at defiance. Spotswood had been made secretary of state in the room of that nobleman, and Montrose, by the king's authority, had summoned a parliament to meet at Glasgow on the twentieth of October. The earl of Aboyn not thinking himself and his family

Letter to
Digby,
Sept. 10,

Ibid.

A. D. 1645. sufficiently considered, had carried northwards the greatest part of the horse; nor could he be prevailed upon to stay his departure, not for a day; so that upon the whole, Montrose was abandoned by above three thousand of his best troops, which ruined the royal cause. All those untowardly circumstances did not discourage him; but both his old and his new friends knew that he had not a natural interest even among the royalists. Traquair and Roxburgh surrendered their houses to Lesley, while to Montrose they were making the strongest professions of loyalty; and neither the marquis of Douglas, nor the lord Oglevy, whom he commissioned for that purpose, could bring any considerable appearance in the south to the field. The covenanting lords at Berwick had kept a close correspondence with Lesley; and they had spies in Montrose's camp, who informed them of all his motions. Perhaps Montrose's new commission had made him act with a haughtiness, which had displeased the leading royalists; and he had too great a contempt for an enemy whom he had so often and so shamefully beaten. He still hastened southwards to forward the levies, and was joined by a troop of horse under lord Linton, Traquair's son; but when he arrived at Kelso, he had reason to believe that the earls of Roxburgh and Hume had suffered themselves to be taken prisoners by a party of Lesley's

Lesley's horse, and sent to Berwick; and that Traquair had, without consulting him, ordered his son and his troop of horse to leave the royal army. He would have returned northwards, but he received particular orders to the contrary from the king; and Lesley, who had entered Scotland by the way of Berwick, had re-animated the covenanters, and made dispositions for cutting off his retreat to London. From the narrative given us by all parties, it seems pretty plain, that Charles's commission, creating Montrose lieutenant-governor and captain-general in Scotland, contributed to the ruin of his cause. The house of Huntley and Sir Alexander Macdonald in the Highlands, on whose followings he chiefly depended, thinking they were ill-treated by his being considered and rewarded as the only Scotch subject who had done the king service, had left his army, with a resolution to fight no longer under his banners; so that after various marches, all which were betrayed to Lesley, who was then in the East Lothian, he arrived at Selkirk on the twelfth of September, with an intention to march northwards to the Highlands. He had with him then no more than five hundred foot and two hundred horse, most of them new raised men; and he trusted for his intelligence to his scouts, who betrayed him; so that his small handful was surrounded by Lesley with six thousand horse and foot, while Montrose

A. D. 1645.

but is totally defeated by Lesley at Philiphaugh.

A. D. 1645. thought him still in East Lothian. Though it was almost madness to think of resistance, yet Montrose's intrepidity and presence of mind never forsook him; and after a gallant defence, he cut his way through the enemy, and carried off his horse. About two hundred of his foot obtained quarter, and threw down their arms; but Lesley, who neither could, nor durst, resist the importunity of the covenanting preachers, ordered them all, together with the women and boys attending, to be put to death in cold blood. The rest of Montrose's foot joined him in his flight.

The preachers govern Scotland.

This defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh fully manifested that the executive part of the Scotch government was entirely directed by the preachers. They quoted scripture to authorize the most unheard-of humanities. Such of the royalists as were taken in the pursuit were either butchered or drowned in the Tweed. Mothers with their sucking infants, and women with child, underwent the same fate; the banks of the river being lined with soldiers, who knocked all on the head with clubs who endeavoured to save themselves. Among the prisoners of note were Sir Robert Spotswood, colonel Gordon, captain Guthrie, son to the bishop of Murray, and William Murray, brother to Tullibardine, who were all of them executed at St. Andrew's, because the preachers declared that God required their blood. Sir
William

William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, Alexander Ogleby, and other officers of distinction, particularly O'Kane, an Irish major, underwent the same fate ; and there was no species of cruelty unpractised by the party.

The royalists did not think their cause desperate while Montrose was alive ; and he fondly imagined, that his high reputation, and the distresses of the king, might re-animate the sparks of loyalty which he knew still remained in the breasts of the royalists. In this he was not deceived ; but they could not be persuaded to fight under his command. The people of Athol, which he and his small party reached, after a most fatiguing march, being the most independent of the Highlanders, joined him with four hundred excellent foot ; and he not only sent the most trusty of his friends to Huntley, Macdonald, and other royalists, to persuade them to join him, but paid Aboyn a visit in person. Huntley ordered his men to take the field ; but declared he would head them himself. Aboyn, stung with Montrose's reproaches, joined him with fifteen hundred men, without his father's leave ; but he could not keep them together, and he returned home, by his father's peremptory command, to defend his own estate against the covenanters. Montrose then skirted along the Highlands, where he was indefatigable in raising recruits. Having received orders from Charles to endeavour
to

Montrose
attempts to
retrieve his
affairs,

A.D. 1645.

A. D. 1645. to join lord Digby on the borders of England, he communicated them to Huntley, whom he had surpris'd into an interview; and Huntley was at last perswaded to join in the common cause, and to animate by his example all the royalists in the north; the powerful earl of Seaforth shewing an inclination to join him.

1646.
but without
much effect.

Montrose had too much magnanimity to retaliate upon the prisoners he had made the barbarities inflicted by the covenanters on his friends. In consequence of his concert with Huntley, he marched to besiege Inverness; but was obliged to abandon the enterprize, upon the approach of Middleton, one of the covenanting generals, with a superior force. He remonstrated to Huntley how easy it would be, if their forces were joined, to defeat Middleton; but he received an affrontive answer. It commonly happened, that some of the most powerful clans towards the north and west were determined royalists. Among them was Mackay lord Reay, Sir James Mackdonald of the Isles (who was thought to be the head of the most powerful clan in the Highlands) Maclean, Glengary, the captain of Clanronald, and others, to whom was now added the earl of Seaforth. Hearing of the coalition between Montrose and Huntley, they had promised to join the former; but the defection of Huntley discouraged them, and even many who had already joined them, returned home. Montrose
at-

attempted, to have another interview with A. D. 1646. Huntley, but the latter avoided it; upon which Montrose, who knew that the common people were royalists in their hearts, resolved to force them into the field, by inflicting military execution on those who were refractory. While he was meditating the execution of this scheme, which was wise and well laid, Huntley made himself master of Aberdeen, which had been garrisoned by Middleton with five hundred men. It was now expected that Huntley would have heartily co-operated with Montrose, in which case they might have carried to the king's assistance one of the best armies that had ever been raised in Scotland; but while Montrose was indulging himself with this prospect, he received a peremptory order to disband his forces and go into France. "This (says Charles in his letter) at first may justly startle you; but I assure you, that if, for the present, I should offer to do more for you, I could not do so much." This catastrophe must be accounted for by what was then passing in England.

Appendix to
Wilkart.

Charles had actually ordered lord Digby to join Montrose in Scotland; but he was defeated in the attempt, and obliged to fly to the Isle of Man. In the mean while, the independent party in parliament treated the Scots with such contempt, and kept them so short in money, that they were forced sometimes to live at free-quarters; and they sought every opportunity

Lord Digby
defeated.

A. D. 1646. nity of returning to their own country. This they certainly would have effected, had it not been for the meanness of their general, the earl of Leven, who suffered himself to become a tool to the independents in England, and sent the parliament a letter delivered to him by Sir William Fleming, by order of Charles (for which he was voted a jewel of five hundred pounds value) to sound that general about the king's throwing himself into their army. The contributions which the Scots were obliged to impose upon the country of England, drew at last, from the faction at Westminster, a vote for allowing them thirty thousand pounds, provided they would besiege Newark. The Scots at first declining this service, the commons came to some resolutions, which amounted to little less than declaring war against them, and refusing to pay them their arrears. The earls of Callendar, Traquair, Morton, Roxburgh, and some others, wished better to Charles than to the covenanters; but they did not desire to see his authority restored by Montrose's arms, and remonstrated against the return of their army from England without their arrears, as the poverty of their country had forced them to reduce Lesley's horse into a single regiment, which they had given to Middleton. Charles conceived great hopes from the growing differences between the independents and the Scotch army, and the divisions in parliament, where
the

the presbyterians met with many severe mortifications. Fairfax had orders to besiege Oxford, where Charles was. The duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, and many of his greatest and best friends, had submitted to the parliament, and were then in prison; and he had no strong place of refuge, in which he could trust his person. He still employed the agency of Montreville, the French resident, a weak, volatile man, with the Scotch generals; and met with such encouragement from him, that he took a final resolution of leaving Oxford in disguise. He accordingly, on the fifth of May, arrived at the Scotch camp before Newark, the siege of which they had undertaken, in conjunction with part of the parliament's army under Pointz.

A. D. 1646.

Distress of
Charles.

Charles seems to have been deceived into this desperate step by Montreville, and by the ideas he entertained, that upon his arrival to head the Scots, they would immediately break with the English. But their differences had been, in a great measure, compromised. Leven received him with respect, but Pointz cut off all communication between his camp and that of the Scots, whose commissioners, after some debate, joined with their general in a letter informing the English parliament, "that the king was in their camp." They received for answer a resolution from the house of commons, "that it be desired of the Scotch

He is betrayed by
the French
resident to
trust him-
self with
the Scots.

A. D. 1646. commissioners of the parliament of Scotland, residing with the Scotch army before Newark, and also of the general of the Scotch army there, that the person of the king may be disposed of to such a place within this kingdom as the two houses of parliament shall appoint." Leven was so poor-spirited, that, instead of resenting this insolent vote, he joined with the commissioners in another letter to the commons, disclaiming all previous treating with the king, and promising to be directed by the English in all their measures. He even rejected an offer made him by Charles, to order Bellasisfe, his governor of Newark, to put the place into the hands of the Scots; and he in a manner forced Charles to deliver it to the parliament's army. This was a most scandalous timidity in Leven, because he had as good right to have taken and kept possession of Newark, as Newcastle, Carlisle, or any other place which the Scots held in England, contrary to the express will and command of the English parliament. The avarice of the commissioners co-operated with the pusillanimity of Leven; for no sooner did Bellasisfe resign his command, than they broke up their camp, and carried Charles along with them to Newcastle, from whence he was forced to send the order I have already mentioned for Montrose's disbanding his army.

Montrose
disbands
his army.

That gallant nobleman was astonished at receiving this order, and was under some doubt

doubt how to behave, lest it had been extorted. He invited Huntley to a consultation; but he declined it, as he had got the like order himself. Montrose sent repeated messengers to know the true situation of Charles, but every answer brought him the most peremptory orders for disbanding; which at last he was obliged to comply with on the thirtieth of July. He himself was commanded to transport himself beyond sea, before the first of September, in a vessel furnished him by the states. Montrose, understanding that the ship-master would certainly betray him to the English, chose to embark in disguise, with a few friends, for Norway, which he did on the third of September.

A. D. 1646

The formidable enemy of the covenanters being thus removed, their preachers gave a loose to the most infernal rage. One of them, to animate their military officers to butcher the captive royalists, repeated the expression of the prophet to Saul, "What means the bleating of these sheep, and the lowing of those oxen?" Dickson, one of the most eminent among them, being present at the shedding some of the noblest blood in Scotland upon the scaffold, insultingly repeated, "The work goes charmingly (in Scotch bonnily) on!" Blair, another of their preachers, insulted Sir Robert Spotswood, and other royalists of distinction, in their last moments; and when

Cruelties
of the cove-
nanters.

A. D. 1646. they offered to speak, drowned their voices with drums and railings. When the earl of Crawford and Sir John Urry were included in the capitulation granted to Montrose, the commission of the church petitioned the committee of estates to disannul the whole transaction; which must have happened, had not Middleton been obstinately determined to stand by the agreement he had made with Montrose. The duke of Hamilton had, before this, been freed from his confinement, by the parliament troops taking the castle where he was imprisoned; and notwithstanding his provocations, he was still for lenient counsels, and a friend to Charles in his heart. His brother, overcoming his resentment, was the same, and soon recovered the confidence of Charles. They durst not appear sanguine in his favour, because Argyle, and the leading party in Scotland, were cautious of offending the English; and had actually made a prisoner of Charles at Newcastle, his own friends being debarred all access to his person. He complained of this; but it was found upon enquiry, that Montreville had no solid foundation for the assurances he had given him of welcome in the Scotch army. Hamilton and his brother incessantly pressed Charles to an accommodation; but all was in vain, the Presbyterian, and consequently the Scotch, interest, being now very inconsiderable at Westminster.

While

While Charles was at Newcastle, Henderfon the preacher was employed to persuade him to take the covenant. Their disputes and papers on that head were the king's chief amusements in his melancholy situation. As he had studied theological points more than became a prince, he argued with such force of reasoning, that Henderfon conceived the highest opinion of his piety and learning; and there is reason to believe (tho' the fact is not very material) that he repented on his death-bed the part he had acted in the troubles of his country. The independents in the English parliament, though they had laid their plan for the king's destruction, affected to treat the propositions of peace sent them by Charles with some regard; but found that the Scotch army at Newcastle were resolved to make all they could out of their royal prey. A vote passed on the nineteenth of May at Westminster, that the kingdom had no farther use of their continuing the Scotch army within England. An hundred thousand pounds was voted, one half to be paid to the Scots on evacuating the garrisons they had in England, and the other on their return to Scotland; but the Scotch commissioners having made up their accounts, demanded two millions sterling of arrears, refusing to deliver up either the king or their garrisons, or to return to Scotland, without money, but they did not name the sum. However,

both

A. D. 1646.
Concessions
of Charles.

A. D. 1646.

both officers and foldiers very plainly intimat-
ed, that if they had but a reasonable pecuniary
gratification, they would be at the English par-
liament's devotion. The commons insisted up-
on their former vote of Charles being put into
their hands; and, at last, a set of articles for a
peace were drawn up and sent him, with the
approbation of the Scotch commissioners. The
particulars do not belong to this history, far-
ther than to mention that he was required to
sign the covenant, and to pass an act for its
being generally taken. He was to confirm the
treaty between England and Scotland, and con-
servators of the peace were to be appointed.
Episcopacy was to be radically abolished in
England, and an act was to pass for the unifor-
mity of religion; but that religion was to be
what both houses should agree upon.

The Eng-
lish parlia-
ment treats
with the
Scotch ar-
my.

Those, and a variety of other concessions to
be made by Charles, were to form the basis of
the treaty. Not only the English and the
Scotch presbyterians, but even the queen and
her friends in France pressed Charles to accept
of those terms without hesitation, because the
presbyterians in the English parliament were
still strong enough to carry the treaty. Charles
thought the irreconcilable differences between
the independents and the presbyterians must
work his deliverance; and as he was sincere in
his profession of religion, he was almost single in
pleading for that of England. He drew up a paper
which

A.D. 1646.

which he delivered to the earl of Pembroke, one of the English commissioners, who accepted of it with great difficulty, because it was not satisfactory. Upon the return of the English commissioners to Westminster, it appeared that the presbyterians had still a majority in parliament. Cromwell, who was now at the head of the independents, took care that Fairfax, who was his superior officer, should be always employed in the field, and easily foresaw that if the Scotch army left England, there could be no pretence for keeping up the English army, which must be the ruin of all his views, and that of his party. The earl of Essex, who was at the head of the presbyterians, and the only man whose military abilities were formidable to Cromwell, was now dead; and the independents omitted nothing, by words, speeches, or publications, that could provoke and exasperate the Scots. The latter complained of this to the house of commons, but at the same time offered to evacuate England, upon their receiving a reasonable proportion of the debt due to them, and to enter into further consultation concerning the disposal of the king, and settling the kingdom. After a smart opposition made by Cromwell and his party, the printers and publishers of the papers against the Scots were censured, and a hundred thousand pounds were voted to be paid immediately to the Scotch army.

This

A. D. 1646.

This was but an inconsiderable sum, when we consider the services they had done to the parliament of England, by their persuading Charles to disband his armies, to give up his garrisons, and to lay his neck at their feet. The chancellor of Scotland pleaded that his countrymen had a right to be consulted in the disposal of the king's person; but he declared that it was not safe to carry him to Scotland. This hint was thrown out to let the English understand, that they might have the disposal of the royal person for a valuable consideration. Leven was still the furious enemy of Charles. The earl of Callendar, who continued to be next in command, was gone to Scotland to receive the submissions of the royalists there; and Lesley, the most popular general of their army, was devoted to Argyle, who now inclined to the independents, and would trust neither to royalists nor to presbyterians. Upon the whole, the treatment Charles received in the mean while, was so barbarous and inhuman, that William Murray, one of the most constant of his domestics, suggested to him the project of an escape, by means of a ship he had in readiness; or, at least, Leven made use of this as a pretext for filling the king's chamber and anti-chamber with his Russian guards, who persecuted him with the fumes of tobacco, a weed which he held in abomination.

Chan.

Chancellor Loudon, Argyle, and the other Scotch commissioners, being absent at London on the affair of the treaty, Charles took that opportunity of requesting the duke of Hamilton to go to Scotland, and to manage affairs in the committee of estates there. The duke found nothing could be done unless the king consented to take the covenant, which Charles peremptorily refused; the independents having given him encouragement to hope, that if their party should prevail, they would leave his conscience free, in matters of religion. Three pompous speeches delivered by the chancellor earl of Loudon, before the English parliament, on the subject of the treaty, were printed at Edinburgh, to convince his countrymen of the integrity of his conduct. They were much better understood at Westminster; for though his lordship seemed to be an advocate for the king's freedom, honour, and safety, yet he suggested the strongest reasons for making him a prisoner, a slave, and a beggar, because he would not take the covenant, and implicitly accept of the terms offered him by the parliament. The commons of England laughed at the arguments he brought about the equal right his countrymen had in disposing of the royal person, while their army was paid by the English for fighting against him. Many papers were drawn and published on both sides; but it was plain that the Scots

A. D. 1646. wanted to be rid of Charles on the most advantageous terms they could obtain.

The Scotch
parliament
meets.

On the third of November the Scotch parliament assembled; but nothing was done with regard to the king till the fifteenth of December following. The clergy opposed the late capitulation with Montrose, but it was confirmed by twenty voices. The duke of Hamilton and his brother are blamed by bishop Guthrie, for not taking advantage of this majority by pressing for a declaration in favour of the king, tho' earnestly intreated by several gentlemen. The duke of Hamilton, who acted as commissioner, excused himself on account of the juncture, because Huntley was still in arms in the north, and Middleton complained that he was too weak to reduce him. The earl of Antrim was in Kintire, where he threatened to over-run Argyle's estates. Some management was likewise required for lessening the numbers of those whom the English parliament, instigated by the Scotch covenanters, required to be excluded from all pardon, and condemned before any act of oblivion should be passed. These were the marquisses of Huntley and Montrose; the earls of Crawford, Nithsdale, Traquair, Carnwath, and Airly; the lords Gordon, Ogilvie, Herries, and Rae; the generals Ruthven and King; bishop Maxwell; the lairds of Drum, Gight, Auchintoul, and Gorthy; the colonels Cochran
and

and Macdonald ; and others of less note. Before any thing of importance could be done, the parliament turned itself into a grand committee to consider upon instructions to press his majesty's coming to London, with honour, safety, and freedom ; and to declare their resolutions to maintain monarchical government in his majesty's person and posterity.

A. D. 1646.

During those transactions, the presbyterians and the independents at Westminster outbid each other for the person of Charles ; but, at last, the former carried it by a vote in the house of commons, that the Scotch army should be paid four hundred thousand pounds sterling ; but the full payment not being due till some months after, it was considered as only conditional, in case, during the intermediate time, the person of Charles should be delivered up. The news of this immense sum (being about four millions and one half, Scotch money) arriving at Edinburgh, damp't the zeal of the royalists there, and of those who before seemed to be royalists ; and a vote passed on the 10th of January, that their army should retire, and the king be left to the English without any conditions, in consequence of the agreement which their commissioners at Westminster had made with the English parliament. The particulars of the Scotch parliamentary proceedings are not very material. It is sufficient to say, that the clergy were the dictators of the state ; and

The clergy dictate to the state.

1647.

A. D. 1647. that final resolutions had been taken to settle the affairs of the kingdom without Charles, and even to confine his person if he should be brought to Scotland, and to suspend his regal function, unless he would not only take the covenant, but grant all the conditions required of him. The only persons in the opposition were the duke of Hamilton; the earls of Lanerk, Kinghorn, and Tullibardine; the lords Spynie and Elibank; of the gentry, Halkerton, Innerpeffer, Monorgan, and Curden; of the commissioners burghs, those of Forfar, Tain, and Brechin. Bishop Guthrie hints, that the duke of Hamilton and his brother made but a faint resistance, but that all their friends voted for delivering up the king; and that the majority of the parliament, if assembled, would have voted against the traitorous resolution of giving him up. He adds, that not above a third part of the Scotch nobility were present; and that they and the commissioners from counties and burghs in general were over-awed by the clergy. I must, however, observe, that this is but a poor apology, and amounts to no more than that the majority of the parliament, and nation, were rather cowards than traitors. The same right reverend author likewise says, that even the majority of the clergy, in their collective body, disallowed of so infamous a proceeding; that they were restrained from expressing themselves, for fear of being deprived of

Lanerk's
letter.

of their function and livelihood; but that he, and six other ministers, who were commissioners, talked freely against it in their assembly: and if I mistake not, such of those seven as survived the Restoration, were rewarded, as they well deserved to be, with bishoprics.

It were to be wished, that a veil could be thrown over the whole of this transaction; the most wicked, venal, and traitorous that ever stained the annals of any nation. Two hundred thousand pounds were immediately paid; but when the Scotch commissioners demanded security upon the estates of the bishops, and other delinquents, for the remaining two hundred thousand pounds, the commons refused to give any other than that of the public faith. This difficulty did not prevent the performance of the iniquitous contract; and the English parliament named commissioners, on the part of both houses, to receive the king from the Scots at Newcastle, at the head of whom was the earl of Pembroke. The narrative of the distresses of Charles, his family, and friends, from this period to that of his death, belongs more properly to the history of England than that of Scotland, to which I am now to return.

The treachery of the Scots in selling (for it can be called no better) their king, rendered them contemptible in the eyes even of the traitors who bought him. We are here care-
fully

A. D. 1647.

Charles is delivered up to the English parliament.

Treachery of the French administration.

A.D. 1647. fully to distinguish between that constitutional opposition which had been begun by the presbyterians, for bounding the usurpations of prerogative, and the principles of independency, which now had gained a majority in the English house of commons, and which pointed to the abolition of the constitution, as well as of the church, of England. The presbyterians had moved to thank their Scotch brethren for their good offices, as well as civilities. This was over-ruled by the independents; so that the word "civilities" only stood in the vote; and they declared they would not treat of peace till the Scotch army had left England. Those affronts, the growth of independency, the shameful bargain they had made, and many other considerations, turned the hearts of the Scots (notwithstanding the frantic behaviour of their clergy) towards the king. The payment of the remaining two hundred thousand pounds influenced, however, many leading officers to a neutrality; but none seemed so hearty in the royal cause as the duke of Hamilton, and the earls of Lanerk and Lauderdale. The latter was sent to England to do Charles all the service he could in forwarding a peace, and preventing the commons from rising in their demands, as well as to procure some mitigation of Charles's severe imprisonment. On his arrival at Westminster, he found that the army was no longer under controul
of

of the parliament; and that they had sent A.D. 1647. cornet Joyce to take Charles by force out of the hands of the commissioners at Holmby castle. I must not here forget, that Montreville was still about the person of the king; but he was only resident for France. Bellievre was embassador at Westminster from that perfidious court, and was secretly consulted by the independents. Lord Clarendon has given us a transcript of Montreville's negotiations; but his lordship seems to have been ignorant, that the French resident actually had from his king assurances of safety for Charles, if he should put himself in the hands of the Scotch army. Charles pressed both Bellievre and Montreville to publish this assurance to the world; but they insisted upon previously publishing the promises of the same kind that had been made them by the chief officers and commissioners in the Scotch army. This was a tender point for Charles, as many of them were his friends, and such a discovery must have ruined them with both parties. The matter, therefore, was suppressed on both sides; and Charles returned to the French minister the assurance he had given him upon his master's authority. The reader will in the notes * find Montreville's own words, which

* “Cependant le dit roi m'a proposé deux choses; l'une, que j'eusse à dire hautement qu'il avoit raison de ne pas établir le presbitère, & de ne pas faire les choses, que lui étoient demandées par les Ecoissois; & l'autre, qu'il vouloit faire connoître comme
il

A. D. 1647. I believe no other historian ever consulted, but which puts the fact, as I have stated it, past all dispute.

The Scotch commissioners offer to deliver up Charles.

The violence offered not only to the king's person, but to the two houses of parliament by the army, enraged all the Scots, who did not absolutely wish to see the extinction of monarchy in their country. Charles had been carried to Newmarket, where the independents treated him with greater appearances of respect and freedom than ever he had received from the presbyterians. The earls of Lauderdale, Traquair, and Dumfermling, were permitted to attend him on the part of the Scotch parliament; and Charles was flattered, that the independents would accept of much easier terms than what he had offered to the presbyterians. Those hopes operated fatally for Charles, who obtained leave for the earls of Lanerk and Loudon to come up to Newmarket to assist the earl of Lauderdale in his negotiations; but part of the army had affronted the earl of Lauderdale, by refusing him access to the king's person; and the committee of estates at Edinburgh had received no satisfaction; and those noblemen, in fact, thought that the English army, notwithstanding all appearances, was very ill-intentioned towards

il étoit venu dans l'armée des Ecoffois sur les assurances de la France, & l'écrit, que le roi avoit donné." Lettre de Montreville au Monsieur de Brienne, Jan. 10.

Charles.

Charles. The latter repeated his request, that they would attend him; which they did, with the earl of Lauderdale, at Hampton Court. They found reason to believe that his life was in danger. They offered (if we are to believe Burnet) to rescue him with fifty horsemen, while he was hunting at Nonsuch; but Charles excused himself, because he had pledged his honour not to leave the army. This fact is, however, somewhat questionable, especially as Burnet gives no other authority for it, than Lauderdale's bare affirmation, which is not to be depended upon. It is certain that Charles was at this very time meditating an escape from Hampton Court, which he actually effected, and went to the Isle of Wight, where he was made close prisoner in Carisbrook castle; and from that time, Cromwell, and the other independent heads of the army, resolved upon his death.

While Charles was prisoner in Carisbrook castle, he kept a correspondence with the Scotch commissioners, little to the satisfaction of either party. It was in vain for the latter to protest, as they did, against the proceedings of the English parliament, who had now lost all sight of the covenant, and of their former treaties with Scotland, and to insist upon the king's being at freedom to treat in or near London, or, if possible, at Berwick. They, at the same time, informed Charles, that all

who is a
prisoner in
Carisbrook
castle.

A. D. 1647. they were doing would be next, to nothing, unless he would absolutely take the covenant, and conform to every thing they had offered him in point of religion. About the end of December the Scotch commissioners went to the Isle of Wight, where they entered into a treaty with Charles, to bring an army into England to rescue his person, and re-establish his authority. The king, on the other hand, engaged to them for all the assistance they could demand from the queen or prince, or any other who would obey his authority; and that the prince should come to Scotland as soon as they found it convenient to invite him; and that his majesty should grant all the desires of Scotland, which, with a good conscience, he could grant. After this the commissioners set out for Scotland.

Burnet's
Memoirs of
Hamilton.

1648.
Proceedings
of the Scotch
covenanters
and royalists.

Upon the return of the Scotch army from England, the covenanters reduced it to six thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, which were officered by their own friends. Twenty thousand pounds sterling was voted, out of the English money, to be given to Argyle; and thirty thousand to the duke of Hamilton, for his losses and sufferings; and others were rewarded in proportion. A committee of twenty of each estate was then appointed to govern the kingdom till the next session of parliament, which was to commence on the 2d of March; and the first business this committee undertook

was

A. D. 1648.

was to suppress the marquis of Huntley and the royalists in the north. That loyal nobleman had always considered the king's command for disbanding his forces, as having been extorted; and he never had entirely complied with the order. The royalists, therefore, were, at this time, too powerful for Middleton; and Lesley was sent northwards with a strong reinforcement of horse and foot to assist him; which obliged Huntley once more to retire to the Highlands. The consequence was, that the two generals made themselves masters of all the castles and houses belonging to the Gordons and their friends, setting at liberty the Scots who garrisoned them, but immediately hanging up all the Irish, while the chief of the Scotch gentlemen were sent prisoners to Edinburgh, where some of them were barbarously executed, with the king's pardon, in a manner, about their necks. From Strathbogie, Lesley marched against the Irish, and the Macdonalds in the west islands, attended by the marquis of Argyle. Sir Alexander Macdonald, who was at the head of fourteen hundred foot and two troops of horse, gave them a rough reception at Kintyre, and retreated by boats, first to the isles, and then to Ireland. The country people, who had joined them, laid down their arms upon promise of quarter; but a bloody preacher, one Nevoy, persuaded Lesley to break his word; and they were all of them, to a man,

Guthrie's
Memoirs,
History of
the Gor-
dons.

A.D. 1648 butchered by the soldiers, stripped, and left unburied *. After this, Argyle and Lesley reduced the castle of Duniveg,† and returned to Edinburgh. In the mean while, the committee of estates seemed to be little better than the executioners of the clergy's bloody decrees against the malignants, as they called the royalists.

The marquis of Huntley taken prisoner.

A thousand pounds sterling was proclaimed to be the reward for taking Huntley, who was surprized, and made prisoner by lieutenant-colonel Menzies, at one of his own tenants houses, in the beginning of December. The news of his misfortune gave Charles great concern, and he wrote to Lanerk, in a strain unusually pathetic, desiring him to employ his interest to save him. All was in vain. He was brought by Menzies to Edinburgh; and it was with the utmost difficulty that his execution was delayed till the meeting of the parliament.

Loyal dispositions of the Scots.

The Scots, while Charles remained a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, discovered great dispositions in his favour. Some of the western nobility, heated by their preachers, were against all treating with him, unless he previously gave them full satisfaction with regard to religion. The earls of Traquair and Callendar were the heads of a party who were for espousing his

* "Whereat (says bishop Guthrie) David Lesley seemed to have some inward check: for while the marquis and he, with Mr. Nevoy, were walking over the aneels in blood, he turned about, and said, "Now, Mr. John, have you not once gotten your fill of blood?" This was reported by many that heard it."

cause,

cause, without any restrictions or distinctions. As D. 424.
The duke of Hamilton, who seems to have had then the greatest sway of any nobleman in Scotland, was for raising an army, and accepting of restrictions; and this measure was adopted. The prince of Wales gave commissions to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and others, for raising the king's friends in the north of England. They were to be under the direction of the earls of Lauderdale and Lanerk; and notwithstanding the opposition made by the violent churchmen, and the apostacy of the chancellor earl of Loudon, who fell in with them, an army was raised, the command of which was given to the duke of Hamilton. The independents in England sent down commissioners to strengthen the cause of the covenanters, whose ministers now thundered against the engagement (as it was called) under Hamilton. The Scotch parliament previously sent three demands to that of England. The first was, that presbyterianism, in consequence of the former treaties, should be established in England: the second was, that Charles might come to some of his houses near London, where a treaty might be set on foot for re-establishing the public tranquillity: the last demand was, that the English army under Fairfax should be disbanded, and the parliament restored to its liberty. The Scots receiving no satisfactory answer to those demands, published a strong declaration against the English parliament;

A. D. 1648. ment; and great numbers of the English royalists were ready to join the Scotch army under Hamilton; but the English parliament was then directed by Cromwell and the army.

Berwick
and Carlisle
surprized by
the royalists,

In the beginning of May, Berwick and Carlisle were surprized by Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave. They expected to be joined by the Welsh royalists, but they were quelled by Cromwell, who made dispositions for marching towards the Scotch borders. The faction at Westminster, to embroil matters in Scotland, voted thirty-five thousand pounds to be paid to the marquis of Argyle. This had a surprizing effect to the prejudice of Charles; for the covenanting preachers not only denounced vengeance from their pulpits, against Hamilton's engagement, but Argyle employed arms to obstruct his levies. Langdale, Musgrave, and Glenham were then in Scotland, with many other royalists; but the violent opposition made by the marquis of Argyle and the preachers, through the instigation of the English commissioners, disconcerted all their measures. The commission of the church voted his majesty's concessions not to be satisfactory. Great heats took place in the election of members for the ensuing parliament, and the earl of Stamford was said to have come to Edinburgh as one of the English parliament's commissioners, with a large sum of money, which he distributed among the covenanters. Part of
the

the parliament's fleet had revolted to the prince of Wales, who was then on the coast, and intended to land, and put himself at the head of the English and Scotch royalists. These promising appearances were all dashed in pieces by peevishness, treachery, corruption, and enthusiasm. The queen (who was still in France) during her husband's confinement, had taken the chief direction of his affairs; but she was herself guided by Jermyn, and other worthless favourites. Montreville, who repaired to Scotland, prepossessed her equally against the duke of Hamilton and the marquis of Argyle; and the heats that arose among the officers of the fleet, defeated all the schemes that had been projected for the deliverance of Charles. The earl of Lauderdale was sent to the fleet, to inform the prince of the vigorous resolutions which had been taken in Scotland; but though he was promised an immediate supply of arms, men, and money, and that the prince should take upon himself the command of the Scotch army; yet nothing was performed. The wretched prepossessions of the queen had even infected her son-in-law, the prince of Orange, who distrusted all the Scots; and the prince of Wales's fleet, after lying for some months at the mouth of the Thames, returned to Holland without doing the smallest service to the royal cause.

A.D. 1642.

who are disappointed.

The

A. D. 1648.
Divisions in
the Scotch
parliament.

The king, by this time, had granted to the Scotch presbyterians all that they had demanded for presbytery and the covenant in Scotland; but the marquis of Argyle, and his party, insisted upon the English royalists conforming themselves to presbyterianism, and in taking the covenant likewise. Their refusing this gave a handle for the marquis of Argyle, and his party, to discredit the royal service, and to obstruct Hamilton's measures. Bishop Guthrie, however, says, that Hamilton had then an interest superior in Scotland to that of the marquis of Argyle and his covenanters; but he seems to think, that he did not make a proper use of it, for no censure was inflicted upon the insolent declaration that had been made by the committee of the church. When a committee for the management of affairs was voted, Argyle and his friends protested against that and the whole of their proceedings; but the duke and his brother prevented any punishment being inflicted upon the authors of so daring an insult. Their suffering the marquis of Huntley to remain in prison is another strong charge against the Hamiltons. Bishop Burnet says, but we have no authority for believing him, that they offered to wink at his escaping; but he refused it. I am apt to think that the Hamiltons found him so unpopular among the covenanters, that they durst not set him at liberty.

Though

A.D. 1648.

Though the parliament of Scotland had voted that thirty thousand men and six thousand horse should be raised, and that Monro, who commanded the Scots in Ireland, should be recalled, with his army, yet that under the duke of Hamilton, when mustered, amounted to no more than ten thousand foot and four thousand horse; and those so miserably provided with arms, through the disappointment they received from the queen and the prince, that they had not a single field-piece among them. This difficulty may likewise be accounted for by the earl of Leven and general Lesley, now lord Newark, and some other officers of great reputation, declining to serve in the engagement under Hamilton, and to the violent opposition made to the levies by Argyle and his party. Their places were supplied by the earl of Calendar, who was made lieutenant-general, and Middleton, who was major-general of the horse, and who continued ever afterwards a firm royalist. As to the army in Ireland, the arrears of their pay there were so great (amounting to near eight hundred thousand pounds sterling), that they could only spare twelve hundred horse, but all of them excellent troops, to be commanded by major-general Monro. Before the army could be put in motion, Argyle and the rigid covenanters had been so active in the West, that Middleton, and some other officers, were obliged to march into those parts with a

The Scots
invade Eng-
land under
the duke of
Hamilton.

A.D. 1648. detachment of horse. They found them in a state of rebellion, and headed by four ministers completely armed, who fought very bravely in their foremost ranks; so that it was not without difficulty and danger they were reduced. The four ministers, William Adair, William Guthrie, Gabriel Maxwell, and John Nevoy, were taken prisoners, but pardoned through Hamilton's interest.

The bishops Wishart and Guthrie insinuate, that the cautious dilatory conduct of Hamilton, before he began his march, not only ruined the king's cause in the north of England, and in Wales, but proceeded from his backwardness, or some other worse motive in the service. Those reflections seem to have risen from the event. Argyle and the covenanters had the letter of the law upon their side; and though it was an impious, as well as an absurd law, yet it required all the allies of the Scots to take the covenant, which neither the English nor the Scotch royalists would agree to. All that Hamilton and his party pleaded was, that this form, though legal, was suspended by the necessity of the juncture. I shall not, however, dispute, that the consideration of the danger to which he was exposed if unsuccessful, might have rendered him too cautious; but, that he was sincere in the cause, is, I think, past contradiction.

Lam-

Lambert, the parliament's general in the north, had invested Carlisle; and Langdale, Musgrave, and the other royalists obliged Hamilton, against his own and his brother's sentiments, to march to its relief, with one of the worst appointed body of infantry that ever left Scotland *. Cromwell, after subduing the Welch, was then marching into the north of England; and he sent Lambert orders not to fight the Scots before he could join him. Upon this he retired from the siege; and the English royalists put both Berwick and Carlisle into Hamilton's hands. In a letter written by Hamilton to Lambert, on this occasion, he says, that his expedition was undertaken for prosecuting the just desires of the Scots, in pursuance of the ends of the covenant, according to the joint declaration of both kingdoms, in January 1643 and 1644, for settling religion, delivering his majesty from his imprisonment, and restoring freedom to his two houses of parliament. Lambert returned a gallant but disdainful answer to those reasons, and daily skirmishes happened between him and his enemies. Bishop Burnet gives us a long, heavy, but circumstantial journal of the march and operations of the Scotch army under Hamilton. It does not differ ma-

A. D. 1643.
Their mis-
conduct.

Memoirs of
Hamilton.

* The bad state of this army, when we compare it with that of the army which had so lately left England, plainly proves that the arms, and military stores, were in the hands of the covenanters, of whom the army under the two Leslie's were almost entirely composed.

A. D. 1648. terially from what we have in the English and other accounts ; but it is professedly drawn up to palliate the unsoldierly conduct of the duke, which is indefensible. His army was now strengthened by three thousand veterans under Monro ; and Langdale's forces, which were ready to join him, amounted to the same number, all of them in high spirits and good order. Some differences, indeed, subsisted among the generals. Monro did not chuse to take orders from Callendar ; and the latter was for much brisker measures than Hamilton approved of. Instead of collecting their force into one quarter, it was dissipated by the general's orders for easing the people of the country, as he pretended ; so that there was sometimes a distance of above twenty miles between the van and the rear of their army ; and Langdale's forces were kept in a separate body upon the front. The sentiments of their generals were as much divided as the quarters of their troops ; and their intelligence was so bad, that they did not know Cromwell was on full march to join Lambert, who continued retiring, till on the 19th of July, he came to Penrith, from whence he moved to Appleby, skirmishing with the advanced guard of the Scotch army all the way, till he came to Kirby-Steven. A council of war being held, it was carried against the opinion of Hamilton (according to Burnet) that they should march into England through Lancashire

Lancashire instead of Yorkshire. Monro and his division were at this time thrown into the rear, on pretence of bringing up artillery from Scotland; so that he remained at Appleby, where he was joined by some of the English royalists. The Scotch army, preceded by Langdale's division, were still advancing through Lancashire by Kendal and Hornby; when on the twenty-seventh of July, Lambert was joined by part of Cromwell's forces near Barnard-castle, having taken that route in order to cover Yorkshire; and on the fifteenth of August, his army, and that of Cromwell, joined between Knaresborough and Wetherby, before the Scots suspected that they were within a hundred and fifty miles of each other. Their front at this time was about thirty-five miles distant from the rear, while Cromwell's intelligence was so good, that he charged Langdale's division, so as to cut it off from the main body of Scots. The behaviour of the royalists was, however, very gallant; but after an obstinate dispute, they were forced into the town of Preston. It appears, that at this time, Callendar and Middleton, with the Scotch cavalry, had advanced as far as Wigmore.

A. D. 1648.
Their army
ruined.

According to the most probable conjecture that can be formed, Callendar's intention was to have pushed forwards into England, as Cromwell's and Lambert's army were much fatigued by their long and severe marches,
and

A.D. 1648. and the Scotch cavalry in excellent condition. The disputes that happened between Hamilton and his officers about relieving Langdale, were childish and trifling, and their efforts were but languid. The whole ended in the slaughter of the brave English; while the Scots were seized with such a panic, that their infantry under Baillie retreated from post to post, being slaughtered all the way by Cromwell's men, till they came to Warrington bridge, where they offered to capitulate with Cromwell; and ten thousand of them actually throwing down their arms, both officers and soldiers became prisoners of war to the parliament.

It is in vain for bishop Burnet to endeavour to vindicate the conduct of Hamilton on this occasion, or to bring any instances of the personal courage and conduct of Middleton, or the other officers, to excuse it. It is plain there was a total want of judgment and military capacity, if not courage, in the general; for at the very time his foot capitulated, he was in a condition to have supported them by his horse. All that can be said in his vindication is, that Callendar and Middleton might think the infantry so ill-armed and undisciplined, that they could be of no service against Cromwell's veterans; but even this does not appear; nor can any good reason be given why the cavalry should leave the field without a blow. Hamilton's misconduct was as fatal to himself as it had

had been shameful. Uncertain whether to march to Wales, or to attempt to return to Scotland, he did neither; but marched irresolutely backwards and forwards thro' the enemy's country, till he and his horse came to Utoxeter. Here he was mean enough to enter into a treaty with the parliament's governor of Stafford, who summoned him to surrender. Burnet's narrative mentions the great loss which the army sustained by the militia making a prisoner of Middleton, who was incomparably the best officer the Scots had, and by a mutiny of the common men at Utoxeter. Callendar was so much exasperated, that he disdained keeping longer company with the general; and breaking thro' the enemy with a resolute body of his friends, they escaped to their own country, while he pushed forward to London, and from thence reached Holland.

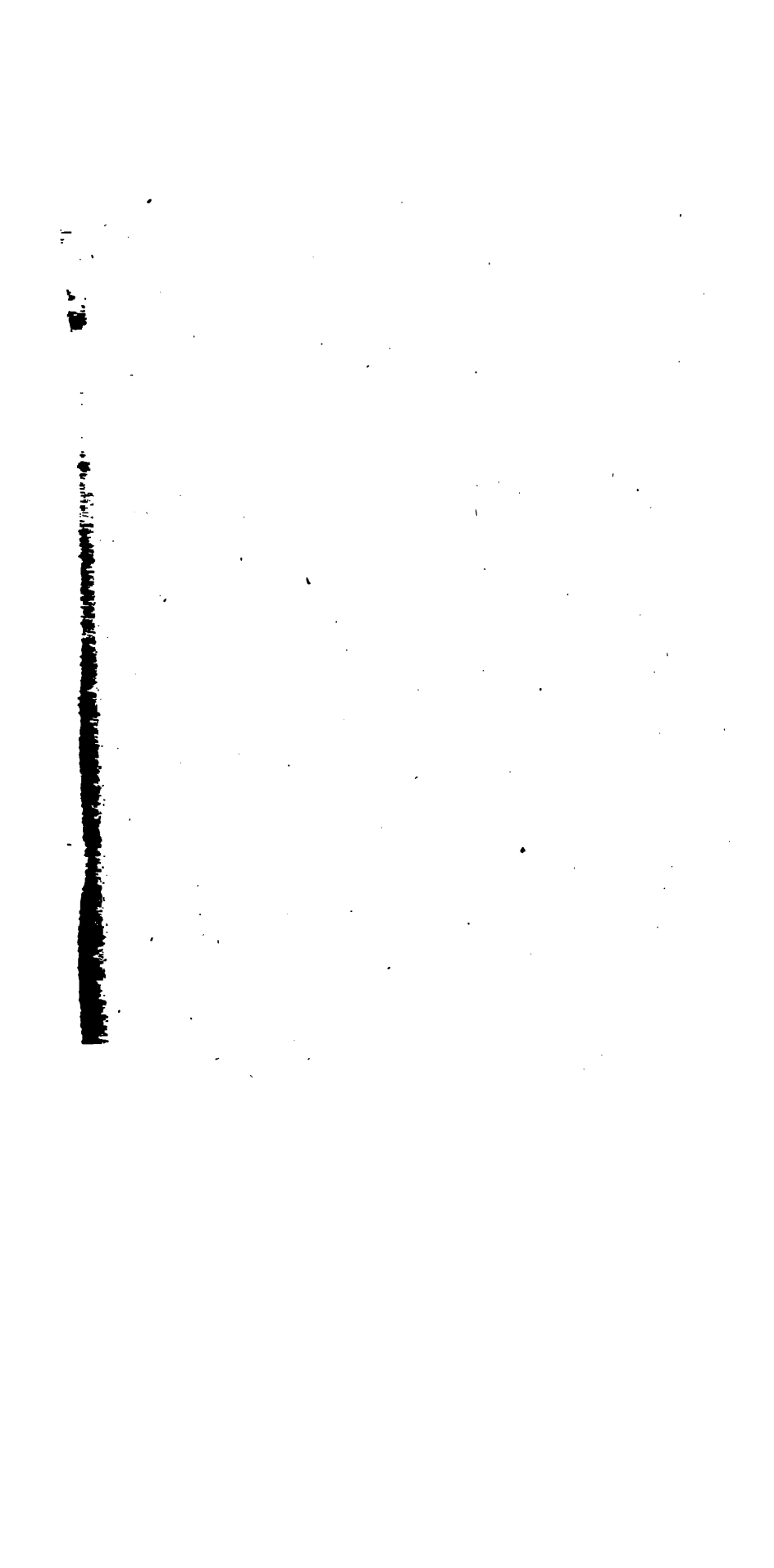
The treaty between Hamilton and the governor of Stafford was far advanced, when it was taken out of the hands of the latter by Lambert, whom Cromwell had sent in pursuit of the Scotch cavalry. The lord Grey of Groby arriving at the same time with the parliament's forces, endeavoured to take from Lambert the honour of concluding the treaty. The difference was soon compromised; for the duke surrendered himself, and all his cavalry, prisoners of war. They were sent to different prisons; and he himself, at last, to Windfor.

Hamilton
made a
prisoner.

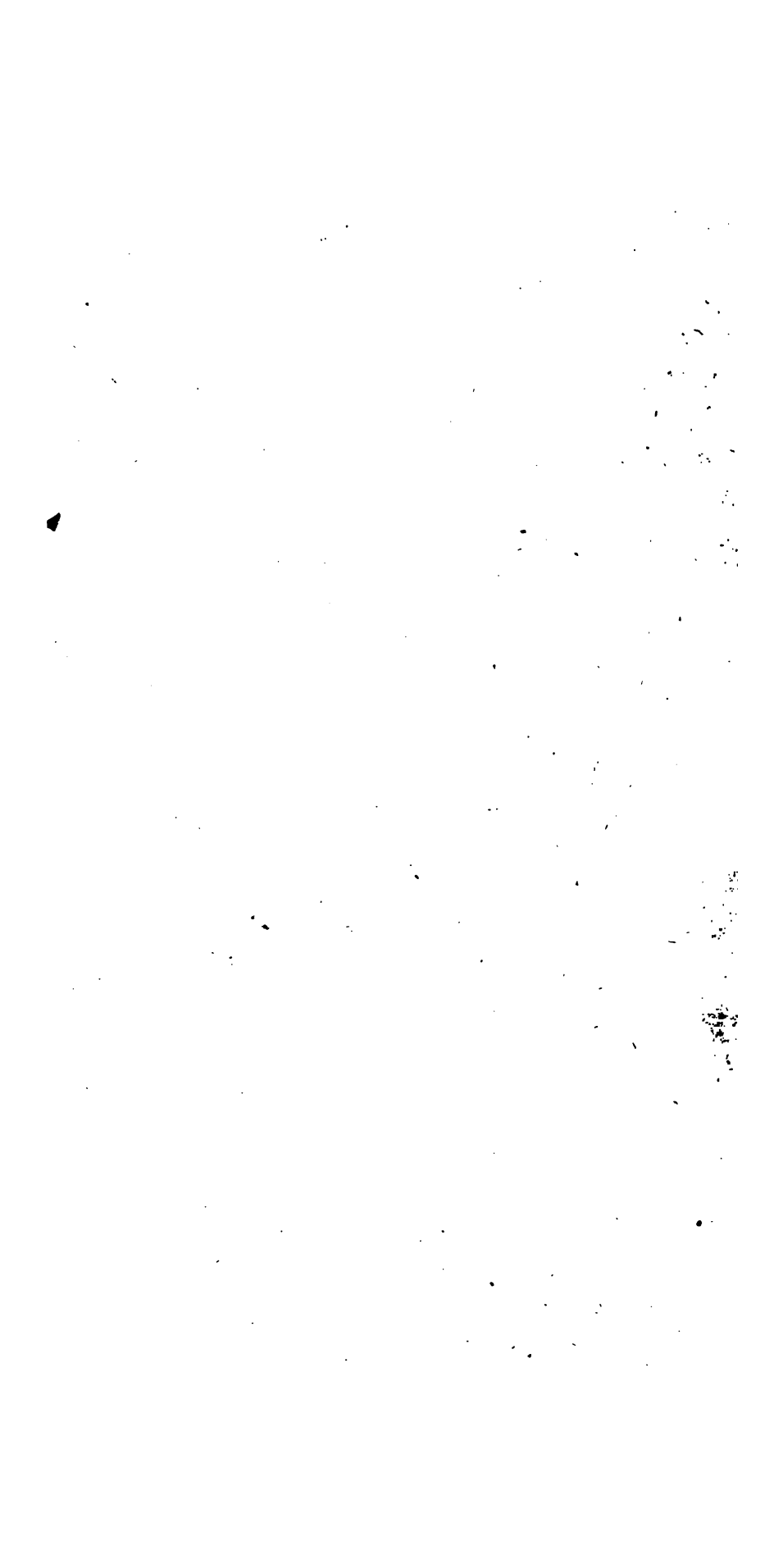
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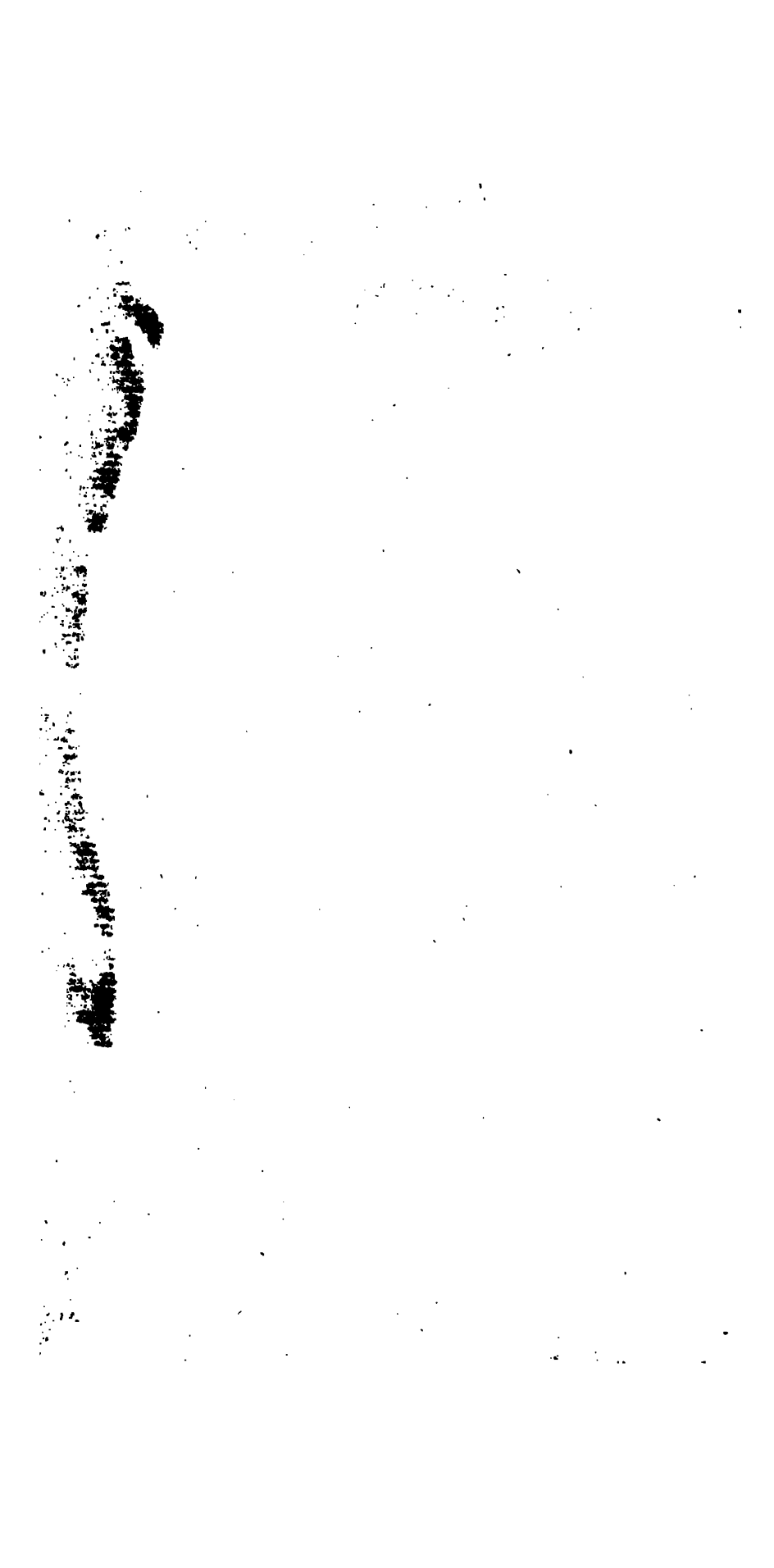
A.D. 1648. Thus ended, equally unfortunately and shamefully, this expedition. Monro, who carried back his division untouched to Scotland, joined the earl of Lanerk, who met him on the borders with a considerable body ; so that they had again the face of an army, of which Lanerk took the command.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

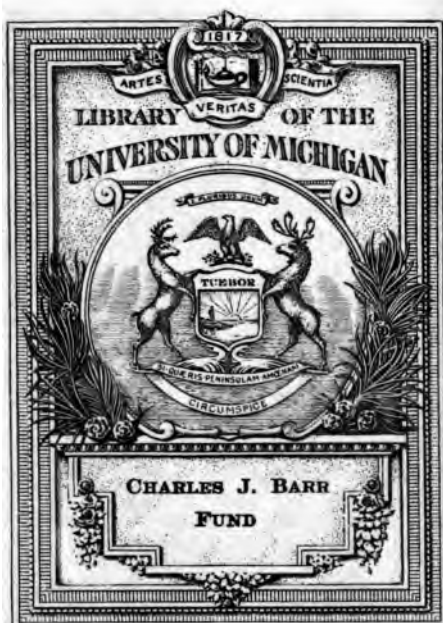








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